



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

**NORTH CAROLINA**

**PART 4 OF 15**

**BUFILE NUMBER: 105-165706**

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY -**

**NORTH CAROLINA**

**FBIHQ FILE 105-165706-8**

**Section 4**

F B I

Date: 5/22/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

RM

By O-1 received 5/13/70 and returned 5/14/70, Bureau was advised that a report would be submitted in this matter by 5/23/70.

Report is being prepared by SA [REDACTED] however, SA [REDACTED] was subpoenaed for a Bureau case in USDC for the MDNC at Salisbury, N. C., which precluded his preparation of the report.

In view of the above, Charlotte will submit a report by 5/29/70.

2-Bureau (105-165706-Sub 8)

-Charlotte (157-6171)

THG:fcr  
(4)

REC-83

105-165706-8-193

MAY 25 1970

Approved: *[Signature]* Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

5 JUN 1 1970 Special Agent in Charge

RAC/UT SECT.

F B I

Date: 5/18/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RI - BPP

[REDACTED] (SF T-16), a highly confidential source,  
advised as follows on 5/14/70:

LARRY LITTLE, of the NCCF chapter in Winston-Salem,  
N.C., was at BPP National Headquarters, Berkeley, Calif.,  
and made arrangements to return to Winston-Salem, N.C.,  
aboard a Delta Airlines Flight leaving San Francisco  
International Airport at 10:15 p.m. on 5/14/70, and arriving  
at Winston-Salem, N.C., at 8:41 a.m.

LITTLE will be taking 4 boxes of excess luggage  
with him, weighing in excess of 200 lbs., which source  
advised contained the current copy of the BPP newspaper  
dated 5/19/70.

Bureau

Charlotte (157-2861)

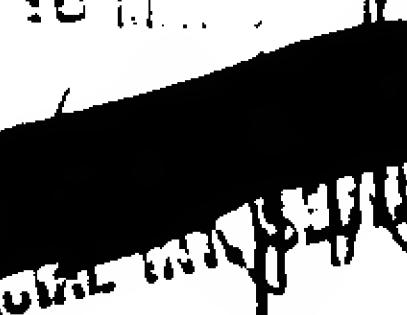
San Francisco

(1 - 157-1581) (PUBLICATIONS)

AC/pac

1)

EV-115  
105-165706-8-192



Special Agent in Charge  
1970

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1960 O - 366-066 (11)

F B I

Date: 5/5/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

**TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)**  
**FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)**

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY -  
 NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM  
 WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.  
 RACIAL MATTERS**

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau, 5/1/70.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM concerning Rally for BOBBY SEALE held at Winston-Salem, N. C., on Sunday, 5/3/70. Copies are being disseminated locally to military intelligence agencies and Secret Service.

Enclosed to San Francisco and New York are three copies each of this LHM.

Information in enclosed LHM was obtained by SA [REDACTED]

**ENCLOSURE**

- Bureau (Encls - 11) (RM)
- New York (1 - Black Panther Party) (Encls - 3) (RM)
- (1 - [REDACTED]) (RM)
- (1 - [REDACTED]) (RM)
- San Francisco (Encls - 3) (RM)  
 (2 - 157-2375)  
 (1 - 157-1485)
- Charlotte  
 (2 - 157-6171 BPP)

105-165706-8-191

EX-112

MAY 8, 1970

RACIAL ANT. SECT.

DGM/lbm

(E)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

5 JUN 1 1970

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
*(Type in plaintext or code)*

Via \_\_\_\_\_ (Priority)  
CE 153-6131

CE 157-6171

Both individuals requested their identities remain confidential.

On 5/3/70, information was telephonically received from the New Haven Division that [REDACTED] had reported the possibility of ROBERT WEBB and "Darruba", not further identified, were apparently traveling from New York to Winston-Salem, N. C., that date for speaking engagement. Due to the sensitive nature of the source and the fact that subject's arrival in Winston-Salem, N. C., was verified through other sources, this information was not included in the IUM.

## **LEADS :**

## **CHARLOTTE :**

AT WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

- 2 -

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
**Special Agent in Charge**



**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

**Charlotte, North Carolina**  
**May 5, 1970**

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY -  
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM  
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA  
RACIAL MATTERS**

Reference is made to Memorandum at Charlotte, North Carolina, dated May 1, 1970, captioned as above.

[REDACTED] advised that captioned rally commenced 5:30 P.M., on Sunday, May 3, 1970, and continued until 8:30 P.M. that date. The meeting was delayed approximately one hour waiting arrival of the guest speaker. This individual noted that all of the speakers except one were local members of the Black Panther Party referred to as the National Committee to Combat Fascism and the film "Off the Pig" was not shown as it did not arrive in time. There were approximately 300 people in attendance with approximately forty of them being white.

[REDACTED] advised the meeting started with a record called "Seize the Time" and a record called "Assassination". LARRY LITTLE was the MC and was followed by "SLACK", THOMAS, NELSON MALLOY, and "BILL" RICE, all local and in that order. He stated their speeches were the normal Black Panther speeches and the guest speaker was referred to as "Darruba" and was allegedly a member of the New York 21 and had spent approximately one year in jail, being released approximately one month ago.

**THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS**  
**NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY**  
**OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND**  
**ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE**  
**YOUR AGENCY.**

## ENCLOSURE

RE : BLACK PANTHER PARTY -  
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM

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This source also noted that "Darruba" had a body guard who traveled with him. Darruba's speech was the normal Black Panther speech in which he referred to situations in New York City and the meeting closed at approximately 8:30 P.M. without incident.

Secret Service and military intelligence agencies advised.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to educate black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1969 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police, who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

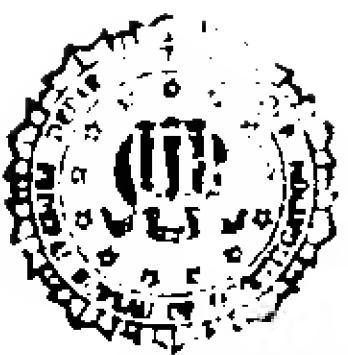
"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men, black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina  
May 5, 1970

Title            **BLACK PANTHER PARTY-**  
                  **NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM**  
                  **WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA**

Character      **RACIAL MATTERS**

Reference     **Memorandum prepared at Charlotte,**  
                  **North Carolina, dated and captioned**  
                  **as above.**

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property  
of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside  
your agency.

F B I

Date: 5/12/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)  
FROM: SAC SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861) (P)  
RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RM - BPP

The following information was furnished  
by [REDACTED] (SF T-16), a highly confidential source  
on 5/10/70.

[REDACTED] (phonetic) advised BPP Headquarters in Berkeley, Calif. that one of his associates from the BPP was departing from Winston-Salem on that date en route to Atlanta and then San Francisco. He wanted to be met at the San Francisco Airport by someone from National Headquarters.

San Francisco Headquarters subsequently advised that LARRY LITTLE was coming to San Francisco from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and would be conferring with BPP leaders in Berkeley.

The exact purpose of the trip of LITTLE to San Francisco was not stated by the source. From the manner of the reception of the news that he was coming, it would appear that his visit was not totally unexpected by Berkeley Headquarters.

② - Bureau (RM)  
3 - Charlotte (157-6171) (RM)

2 - San Francisco  
(1 - 157-1969) (TRAVEL)

WAC:aji  
(7)

REC-10 105-165706-8 - 189

15 MAY 14 1970

SECT.

54 MAY 20 1970

X233 P33

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

SF 157-2861  
WAC:aji

The above material is furnished to Charlotte for its information concerning the current travels of LARRY LITTLE, one of the leading BPP members in the North Carolina area.

F B I

Date: 5/13/70

Transmit the following in **CONFIDENTIAL**

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **AIRTEL**

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) (Sub 8)  
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY**  
**CHARLOTTE DIVISION**  
**RACIAL MATTERS**

The May, 1969, issue of the Black Panther, page 10, contained the Black Panther Party list of all recognized chapters, branches, and NCCFS. Included was Winston Salem, N. C., as a NCCF with address of 1225 East 18th Street, Number 5, telephone number 919-725-7206, with the name R. T. GREER. (u)

It should be noted that 1225 East 18th Street, Apartment 5, at Winston Salem, N. C., is the former address of ROBERT TAYLOR GREER [REDACTED]. Telephone number 919-725-7206 is the home number of LARRY DONNEILL LITTLE, who has been identified as the Lieutenant of Information for the group at Winston Salem. GREER has been reported as the area Captain. (u)

According to [REDACTED] the group at Winston Salem, did have their pad located at 1050 North Cleveland Avenue, Apt. N, Colony Place Apartment, Winston Salem, with their headquarters at 1210 East 5th Street, however, source now reports that the group has a house at 1602 E st 14th St., Winston Salem, N. C., which is to be both their living quarters and Panther headquarters.

(2) - Bureau (105-165706) (Sub 8) (RM)  
 2 - San Francisco (157-2861) (Info) (RM)  
 4 - Charlotte (2 - 157-6171)  
 { 1 - 157- [REDACTED]  
 { 1 - 157- [REDACTED]

ME MAY 14 1970

Classified by 6049 on 5-23-77  
 Exempt from GDS, Category 3  
 Date of Declassification Indefinite

RACIAL MATTERS

PC:ew

60 MAY 21 1970 Agent in Charge

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

F B I

Date:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

The group has given up both the Colony Place Apartment and  
the building at 1210 East 5th Street.

This information is submitted for both the Bureau  
and San Francisco, it being noted that the information in  
the Black Panther newspaper of Saturday, May, 1969, page 10,  
is somewhat out of date.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-2-

1968 18 1810

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 5/6/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL CONFIDENTIAL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
RM, SMITH ACT OF 1940

Re Bureau airtel to Charlotte, 4/21/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven (11) copies and  
for San Francisco two copies of LHM captioned as above (u)

Contacts with other sources met with negative results therefore they were not included in the enclosed LHM. It is noted that inquiries through military bases in North Carolina determined that they had received instructions to report results of their inquiries concerning captioned matter to their respective military departments, therefore, no information from military sources was included in the LHM. (u)

No copies of LHM being disseminated locally as it pertains strictly to evidentiary matter. (u)

REC-34 105-165706-8-188

- PC/bw  
2 - Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco (Encs. 2) (RM)  
4 - Charlotte (2 - 157-6171)

ENCLOSURE

- (1 - [REDACTED])  
(1 - [REDACTED])  
THG:sjw 1-804  
(8) AGENCY:ACSI,NIC,OSI,  
DEPT: LSD, [REDACTED], IDIU (SAC)  
HOW FORW: R/S  
DATE FORW: 5/12/70  
BY: ABG/JRS

17 MAY 8 1970

RACIAL ACT. SECT.

Classified by: 6047 on 2-25-11  
Exempt from GDS: Category Indefinite  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

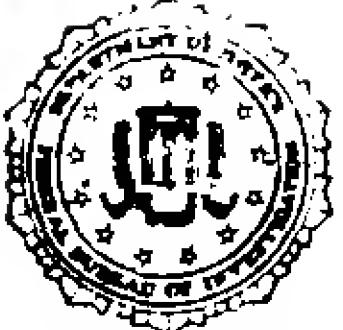
PC/bw

Approved: 31 MAY 2010  
Special Agent in Charge

CONFIDENTIAL

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_ SEC.

DATE  
17 MAY 8 1970  
SERIAL NO.  
105-165706-8-188  
CLASSIFICATION  
CONFIDENTIAL  
EXPIRES  
2010-05-31  
DISTRIBUTION  
ALL



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

May 6, 1970

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
RACIAL MATTERS, SMITH ACT OF 1940**

Reference is made to Departmental memorandum from WILL WILSON, Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, to the Director, FBI, April 14, 1970.

Contacts with sources and law enforcement agencies concerning the distribution of the March 21, 1970, issue of the "Black Panther" in North Carolina met with negative results with exception of the following information.

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10 - 1  
ENCLOSURE

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date May 6, 19701

On May 1, 1970, [REDACTED] advised he purchased a Black Panther Party newspaper dated March 21, 1970, Volume 4, Number 16, on March 25, 1970, at 1:00 P. M., on Liberty Street in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, from JAMES JEROME AKERS. He stated he paid 25 cents for that copy.

*[Handwritten signatures and initials follow]*

---

2On 5/1/70 at Winston-Salem, N. C. File # Charlotte 157-8171by SA [REDACTED]:rep Date dictated 5/5/70

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

**RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)**

[redacted] reported on April 24, 1970, that JAMES ACKER, also known as Brody Acker, was active about two months prior to April 24, 1970, as a member of the group at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, who consider themselves to be a National Committee to Combat Fascism, affiliated with the Black Panther Party (BPP).

A characterization of the BPP is attached to this memorandum as an appendix.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

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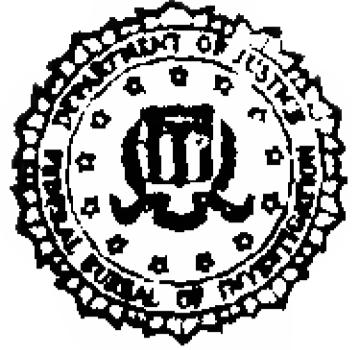
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The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Charlotte, North Carolina  
May 6, 1970

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. [redacted]

Title                   **BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)**

Character              **RACIAL MATTERS, SMITH ACT OF 1940**

Reference             **Memorandum at Charlotte, North Carolina, dated and captioned as above.**

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

[redacted] is in a position to furnish reliable information; however, insufficient contact has been had with this source from which [redacted] reliability can be judged.

F B I

Date: 5/8/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority)

Mr. Bishop  
 Mr. Black  
 Mr. Casper  
 Mr. Callahan  
 Mr. Conrad  
 Mr. Felt  
 Mr. Gale  
 Mr. Rosen  
 Mr. Sullivan  
 Mr. Tavel  
 Mr. Soyars  
 Tele. Room  
 Miss Holmes  
 Mrs. Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)  
 FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)(P)  
 RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
 CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
 RM - BPP

Reference Charlotte teletypes to the Bureau, (2), dated 4/30/70.

Sources reporting information regarding activities of the BPP have furnished no information to indicate travel on the part of any representative of BPP National Headquarters from Berkeley, California, to Winston-Salem, North Carolina in the recent past, or contemplated in the future in connection with rallies in behalf of the BPP/NCCF in the Winston-Salem area.

In the event any information is received relative to purposed travel of this type, the Charlotte Division will be immediately advised.

REC-32 105-165706-8-187

MAY 14 1970

2 - Bureau (RM)  
 2 - Charlotte (157-6171)(RM)  
 1 - San Francisco  
 JAC:aji  
 (5)

AM 11:00 PM, 30

Approved: 56 MAY 8 1970 Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_

56 MAY 8 1970 Agent in Charge

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX

**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**  
**FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET**

2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(1); (b)(2); (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

- For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
- The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-186

XXXXXX  
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 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
 X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
 X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
 X FOR THIS PAGE X  
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

F B I

Date: 5/1/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL **CONFIDENTIAL**

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8) *121*  
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY -  
 NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM,  
 WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.  
 RM

Re Charlotte teletype to Director, 4/30/70. (u)

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11, for San Francisco 2,  
 and New Haven 1, copies of LHM re captioned matter. (u)

Appropriate informants have been instructed to  
 follow these proceedings closely and Secret Service and  
 military intelligence have been advised by SA [REDACTED]  
 at Charlotte. (u) *REC-91 105-165706-8--785*

LEAD:

AGENCY: RAO ATT: ISD, RAO ATT: IDIU  
 DATE FORW: 5/1/70 ACSI, SEC SET + SINC + IRS(WA, 164)  
 HOW FORW: AG BY: 2/13/70 REC-9060

AT WINSTON-SALEM, N. C. *3cc deft (u)*

14 MAY 6 1970

Will follow and report pertinent developments.

- Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
- San Francisco (157-1856) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- New Haven (100-19186) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 6 - Charlotte (2 - 157-6171) (1)

THG:dh

(11)

6 MAY 22 1970

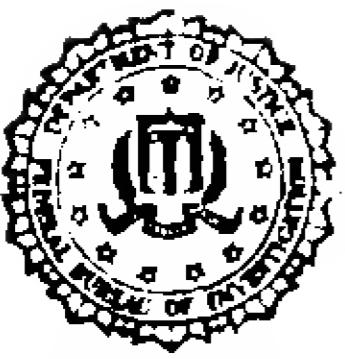
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

**CONFIDENTIAL**



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina  
May 1, 1970

BLACK PANTHER PARTY -  
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM,  
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA  
RACIAL MATTERS

On April 21 1970 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Winston-Salem, North  
carolina, furnished a copy of a flyer presently being  
handed out in the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, area,  
which is as follows:

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS  
NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY  
OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND  
ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE  
YOUR AGENCY.

100-20000-100

# MAY RALLY

COME SEE ABOUT BOPEY SALEM CHAIRMAN BLACK PANTHER PARTY.  
THE ASSASSIN HAD ALREADY DECIDED IN ADVANCE TO MURDER CHAIRMAN  
BOPEY SALEM BY THE ELECTRIC CHAIR IN THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT.

## TOWER of POWER

## AUDITORIUM

15<sup>th</sup> and ENGLISH

DATE: SUNDAY May 3

TIME: 4:30 P.M.

FEATURE: "OFF THE PIG" will be shown

## SPEAKERS

BLACK THOMAS . . . . .	Ministry of Finance
HELMIN MALLEY . . . . .	Field Lieutenant
ELIJAH KELCE . . . . .	Lieutenant

REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY WILL SPEAK

WINSTON-SALEM NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM  
POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -  
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM

On April 21, 1970, a source advised that the "Tower of Power Auditorium" was actually the auditorium of an old church which is now Russell's Business School operated by WILLIE E. SMITH who is currently a Negro candidate for mayor of Winston-Salem, North Carolina. According to this source, JACQUELINE PEOPLES, known by source to be a member of the Black Panther Party in Winston-Salem, arranged for use of the auditorium for May 3, 1970.

A second source advised on April 29, 1970, that the identity of the representative of the National Headquarters of the Black Panther Party who is to speak at Winston-Salem on May 3, 1970, is not known by the individuals at Winston-Salem who are sponsoring the rally; however, apparently arrangements have been made for prominent Black Panther Party member to speak.

Secret Service and military intelligence agencies advised.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

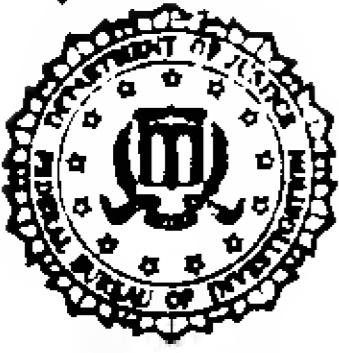
"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people. colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina  
May 1, 1970

Title            BLACK PANTHER PARTY -  
                  NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM  
                  WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

Character      RACIAL MATTERS

Reference     memorandum prepared at Charlotte,  
                  North Carolina, dated and  
                  captioned as above

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

First source and second source are in a position  
to furnish reliable information; however, insufficient  
contact has been had with these sources in order to  
judge reliability.

F B I

Date: 5/6/70

**CONFIDENTIAL**Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via **AIRTEL** \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

**TO:** DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)  
**FROM:** SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)  
**SUBJECT:** BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM,  
WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION MONTHLY SUMMARY  
RM

Re Bureau letter to Albany dated 2/27/70, and  
Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 4/3/70. (u)

According to [REDACTED]

observation by SA [REDACTED]

At Winston-Salem, N. C., the group at Winston-Salem continues to operate as a National Committee to Combat Fascism. There has been no reported change in the leadership; however, according to [REDACTED], the group (c) is moving from 1210 East 5th Street to a house at 1602 East 14th, consolidating their "pad" and office.

In connection with chapter activities during April 1970, it is noted that on 4/30/70 a group including LARRY DONNELL LITTLE was observed at 1602 East 14th cleaning up the place and making repairs. Also it is noted that the Black Panther newspaper was sold in Winston-Salem by members of the group on an almost daily basis. Group is planning for a rally to be held on 5/3/70 at the Tower of Power Auditorium, 15th and English Streets, concerning trial of BOBBY SEALE in Connecticut and advertised that the film "Off the Pig" would be shown and a representative of National Headquarters of the BPP would speak. The only reported public appearance during

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - San Francisco (157-2861) (RM)  
2 - Charlotte

THG:rep  
(6)

REC-1/105-165706-8-184

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
APPROPRIATE OFFICES  
ROUTING  
DATE  
[Signature]

15 MAY 7 1970

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

**CONFIDENTIAL**

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via \_\_\_\_\_

(Priority)

**CE 157-6171**

April was [REDACTED] who advised that on 4/11/70 LARRY LITTLE, representing the BPP at Winston-Salem, N. C., spoke for approximately 15 minutes at an anti-war festival at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, N. C. In his speech, LITTLE referred to President NIXON as a pig who should be in a pen and stressed that the only thing the power structure in America understood was violence and money. LITTLE was accompanied by six males and three females, all of whom were dressed in black; however, the only one identified or who spoke was LITTLE. (2)

[REDACTED]

- 2 -

**CONFIDENTIAL**Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 6 1970

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Waller \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Cooper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sowers \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

X-186

NR015 CE CODE

11:49 PM NITEL 5/5/70 CJC

TO DIRECTOR 105-165706  
NEW YORK 100-161993  
FROM CHARLOTTE 157-6171 (P) IP

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RM

RE NEW YORK TELETYPE TO THE DIRECTOR TODAY.

FOR INFORMATION OF NEW YORK, RALLY MENTIONED IN URTEL  
OCCURRED FIVE THREE LAST AT WINSTON-SALEM, N.C., WITH DARRUBA  
(PHONETIC) IDENTIFIED AS ONE OF THE NEW YORK QUOTE TWENTY-ONE,  
END QUOTE, THE PRINCIPAL SPEAKER. LHM WITH DETAILS FOLLOWS.

[REDACTED]

END

REC-23 105-165706-8-183

14 MAY 11 1970

RRR FBI WASH DC

TELETYPE TO:

*J. J. T.*

*J. J. T.*

55 MAY 18 1970

AM 2 3 OT WH. 50

10 MAY 1970

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 30 1970

TELETYPE

NR005 CE CODE

135PM PM URGENT 4-30-70 GAM

TO DIRECTOR **CONFIDENTIAL**  
SAN FRANCISCO  
FROM CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

BLACK PANTHER PARTY - NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM, **CONFIDENTIAL**  
WINSTON SALEM, N. C. RACIAL MATTERS. (u)

ON APRIL TWENTY ONE, SEVENTY, [REDACTED] **CONFIDENTIAL**  
[REDACTED] WINSTON SALEM, N.C., FURNISHED A FLYER BEING  
HANDED OUT IN WINSTON SALEM, WHICH ADVERTISES A RALLY AT THE TOWER  
OF POWER AUDITORIUM, FIFTEENTH AND ENGLISH STREETS, MAY THREE,  
SEVENTY, SPONSORED BY THE WINSTON SALEM NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO  
COMBAT FASCISM. THE FLYER SETS FORTH THAT A REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE  
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY WILL SPEAK AND THE  
FILM "OFF THE PIG" WILL BE SHOWN. (u) **cc**

A SOURCE WITH WHOM CONTACT HAS BEEN INSUFFICIENT TO JUDGE  
RELIABILITY, HOWEVER IS IN A POSITION TO FURNISH RELIABLE INFORMA-  
TION, ADVISED ON APRIL TWENTY ONE, SEVENTY THAT JACQUELINE PEOPLES,  
KNOWN TO SOURCE AS A BLACK PANTHER, HAD ARRANGED FOR USE OF THE  
TOWER OF POWER AUDITORIUM, WHICH IS ACTUALLY THE AUDITORIUM OF AN

END PAGE ONE

56 MAY 13 1970

copy sent IDTU  
TAS/FC/ME

REC-29 105-165706-8-182  
14 MAY 7 1970

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Classified by 6049 on 5-24-77  
Exempt from GDS, Category 1  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

PC/lvw

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE TWO

OLD CHURCH NOW RUSSELL'S BUSINESS SCHOOL. (u)

A SECOND SOURCE, WITH WHOM CONTACT HAS BEEN INSUFFICIENT TO JUDGE RELIABILITY, ADVISED ON APRIL TWENTY NINE, SEVENTY, THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NATIONAL BLACK PANTHER PARTY HEADQUARTERS WAS NOT KNOWN BY THE INDIVIDUALS AT WINSTON SALEM WHO ARE SPONSORING THE RALLY ON MAY THREE, SEVENTY, HOWEVER, APPARENTLY ARRANGEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE FOR A PROMINENT BLACK PANTHER PARTY MEMBER TO SPEAK. (u)

SECRET SERVICE AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES ADVISED.

ADMINISTRATIVE: (u)

RE SAN FRANCISCO AIRTEL TO BUREAU APRIL FIFTEEN, SEVENTY. (u) }

FIRST SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
MAY THREE, SEVENTY, AND REQUESTED HIS IDENTITY BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL. (u)

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
SAN FRANCISCO IS REQUESTED TO ADVISE THE IDENTITY OF THE  
END PAGE TWO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE THREE

REPRESENTATIVE FROM NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE BLACK PANTHER  
PARTY PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED AS THE SPEAKER, IF KNOWN. (u)

CHARLOTTE AT WINSTON-SALEM WILL CONTINUE TO FOLLOW AND REPORT  
PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS. (u)

LHM FOLLOWS. (v)

END PLS A

THIS IS IN REF TO NF005

(D) PLS DESTROY OTHER ONE AND  
REPLACE IT WITH THIS ONE -- OK

RSP FBI WASH DC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NO 501 CT PLAIN

1530 PM NITEL 5-3-70 08 MAY 3 1970

TO : DIRECTOR

TELETYPE

FROM : CHARLOTTE (157-6171) IP

BLACK PANTHER PARTY - NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT  
FACTION, WINSTON SALEM, N.C., RACIAL MATTERS.

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Walters  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Sayres  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

ESTIMATED CROWD OF THREE HUNDRED PEOPLE SOME OF  
WHO WERE CAUCASIAN ATTENDED RALLY AT TOWER OF POWER  
AUDITORIUM, FIFTEENTH AND ENGLISH STREETS, WINSTON  
SALEM, N.C. NO INCIDENTS WERE NOTED AND THE IDENTITY  
OF SPEAKERS ARE NOT KNOWN AT THIS TIME.

RALLY LASTED FROM FIVE THIRTY PM TO EIGHT THIRTY  
PM. SECRET SERVICE AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE ADVISED.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPE FOUR THIRTY LAST.

CHARLOTTE WILL OBTAIN FURTHER DETAIL AND ADVISE  
ON BRIEFING OF SOURCES.

IHM FOLLOWS.

END.

PLS ACK

NO...IPD

FBI WASH DC

TELETYPE TO: 7333

FTB 6 MAY 18 '970 COPY SENT - IDIU

REG 50-105-165706-8-181

34 MAY 7 1970

F B I

Date: 4/3/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)  
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)  
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
     NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT  
     FASCISM, WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.  
     CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
     MONTHLY SUMMARY  
 RM

*105-165706-1403*  
 Re Bulet to SAC, Albany, 2/27/70 and Charlotte airtel  
 to Bureau, 3/13/70. (u)  
*APR 17 8*

According to [REDACTED]

group at Winston-Salem, N. C., operating as the National Committee to Combat Fascism, continues to be under the leadership of ROBERT TAYLOR GREER, Defense Captain and LARRY DONNELL LITTLE, Lieutenant of Information with headquarters at 1210 East 5th Street, Winston-Salem.

[REDACTED] reported during [REDACTED] that the group at Winston-Salem has six "Panthers in training" who receive daily lessons from the Black Panther newspaper.

The major portion of the members live in an apartment in the Colony Apartments, Cleveland Avenue, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, which is the only known pad. According to [REDACTED] the group operates a breakfast program at 1210 East 5th Street, five days a week feeding approximately 30 children usually eggs, grits and bacon. After feeding the children the Panthers eat their breakfast, have a training session from "The Black Panther" newspaper and thereafter go out to sell [REDACTED] 180 [REDACTED]

- ② - Bureau (RM)  
 2 - San Francisco (157-2861) (RM)  
 2 - Charlotte

REC-66

105-165706-9

10 APR 4 1970

THG:sjw  
(6)  
MAY 6 1970

APR 30 1970

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M  
 Special Agent in Charge (COMM WVA P-1250) *CONFIDENTIAL* POLITICAL INT. SECT.

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
**CONFIDENTIAL**

(Priority)

**CE 157-617]**

"The Black Panther" newspaper. The seller receives five cents for each paper, which money he can keep with the remainder of the money and unsold papers returned to headquarters.



In connection with the chapter activities during the month of March, it is noted that on 3/5/70, LARRY LITTLE reported an incident which occurred 3/3/70, indicating that in an eviction process for non-payment of rent, deputies moved a woman's belongings to the street and the brothers returned the belongings and posted armed guards outside the house with the police subsequently withdrawing. (U)

It is noted that the cover and page 2 of "The Black Panther" for 3/28/70 contained an article referring to this but under the name of JOHN E. MOORE, NCCF, Winston-Salem. It is noted full details of this were previously furnished the Bureau and San Francisco. While the article is written in the vein that due to the Panthers action the police were afraid to return and re-evict the people, in truth the rent was paid immediately by a local anti-poverty agency at Winston-Salem, therefore, no confrontation occurred as there was no legal reason for the deputies to return to re-evict the people. (U)

2

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge**CONFIDENTIAL**

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
**CONFIDENTIAL**

(Priority)

CE 157-6171

It is also noted that on page 13 of the 3/28/70 paper under an article entitled "TO THE PEOPLE IN NORTH CAROLINA" there was an article "exposing" the activities of JOSE GONZALVEZ who has recently formed a group at Greensboro, N. C., known as the Southern Vanguard Revolutionary Party. GONZALVEZ, formerly BPP captain for State of Connecticut, has been the objective of other threats by the Panther party and was expelled from the BPP for unauthorized organizational activities in North Carolina.(71)

3

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge**CONFIDENTIAL**

F B I

Date: 4/15/70

WCS/PB

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157- [REDACTED] (C))

RM - BPP

~~Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM regarding captioned individual.~~

Copies of this LHM are being disseminated locally to military intelligence and Secret Service.

All investigation at Greensboro, N. C., was conducted by SA [REDACTED]

In view of the fact [REDACTED] is not known to have participated in any black militant activities in the past four months, this case is being closed.

*Sec's letter*  
 (2) Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)  
 1-Charlotte

GDF:cvs  
 (3)

Charlie Stepien  
 ARSG SEC-SEC IDIU

4/22/70

RIS  
 PL/C

REC-77

APR 18 1970

59 MAY 4 1970

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Special Agent in Charge



## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

April 15, 1970

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

[REDACTED] advised December 14, 1969, that [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] from Greensboro, North Carolina, was ordering  
300 copies of the Black Panther Newspaper, 15 record  
albums, and ten boxes of Christmas cards from Black  
Panther Party Headquarters in San Francisco, California.  
[REDACTED] was a friend of [REDACTED].

address is [REDACTED] Greensboro, North  
Carolina.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS  
NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY  
OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND  
ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE  
YOUR AGENCY.

179

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(C) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

       Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

       Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

- For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
- The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:  
105-165706-8-179 enclosure page 2

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
X FOR THIS PAGE X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

RE: [REDACTED]

BLACK MILITANT ACTIVITIES

During daily contacts with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] the last contact being August 13, 1970, he advised he has never known of [REDACTED] participating in any type of black militant activity.

[REDACTED] pointed out that [REDACTED], who formerly lived with [REDACTED] moved to New York in December, 1969, and as far as he knows, has not returned to Greensboro.

[REDACTED] familiar with black militant activity in Greensboro, North Carolina, have advised during regular contacts, the latest being April 9, 1970, that [REDACTED] is not known to them and has not participated in any black militant activity. They both pointed out that [REDACTED] had left Greensboro and gone to New York at about Christmas time, 1969.

[REDACTED] advised there has been no Black Panther party activity in Greensboro since the summer of 1969.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

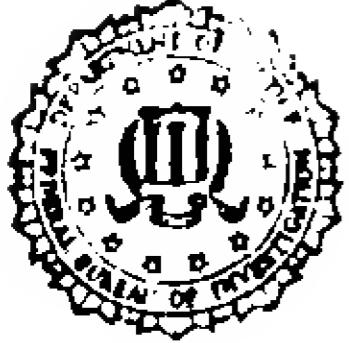
"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people. colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Charlotte, North Carolina  
April 15, 1970

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Title [REDACTED]

Character            RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
Reference          Memorandum prepared at  
                      Charlotte dated and captioned  
                      as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

F B I

Date: 3/13/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY - NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO  
 COMBAT FASCISM  
 WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.  
 CHARLOTTE DIVISION MONTHLY SUMMARY  
 RACIAL MATTERS

Re Director letter to SAC, Albany, 2/27/70. (u)

The only BPP group apparently active in North Carolina is at Winston-Salem, N.C. On 2/16/70, [REDACTED] reported this group was known as the National Committee to Combat Fascism, Winston-Salem, N.C. According to [REDACTED] the headquarters of the group is at 1210 East Fifth Street, Winston-Salem, N.C., and is under the leadership of ROBERT TAYLOR GREER, Defense Captain, and LARRY DONNELL LITTLE, Lt. of Information who is second to GREER. (C)

On [REDACTED] reported that the speakers at the Huey P. Newton Birthday party, 2/15/70, from the NCCF were ROBERT T. GREER, VERNARD SPEASE, Lt. of Education, JACKIE PEOPLES, Communications Secretary, and LARRY LITTLE. (C)

Colony Apartments, Winston-Salem, N.C.

This is the residence of 12 to 15 of the members who

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (REO-120)
- 2 - Charlotte

105-165706-8-178

THG:egp  
 (5)

EX-115

MAR 17 1970

Classified by 6049 on 5-24-77  
 Exempt from GDS, Category D  
 Date of Declassification Indefinite

PC/vlw

5 (1) Approved: 3/13/70

Special Agent in Charge

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
**CONFIDENTIAL**

CE 157-6371

(Priority)

are considered to be the hard core of the group. GREER resides at this pad, however, LITTLE resides at his residence on Oak Street.

[redacted] reported on [redacted] that the group's committee activities consist of breakfast for children program and they claimed to be feeding 40 children per day, at their headquarters. [redacted] reported observing food being carried from the Panther pad at Colony Apartments to the breakfast program and a spot check of headquarters on 2/10/70 by SA [redacted] reflected approximately 20 school age children participated in the breakfast program. (C)

On 2/22/70, [redacted] reported that on 2/19/70, (C) WILLIAM RICE and LARRY LITTLE appeared at Winston-Salem State University (a predominantly Negro school) where they spoke and had a question and answer period. It was apparent from questions and lack of enthusiasm that the group was not well received and one student commented before the group that he felt the Panthers were uncouth and stupid and many of the questions concerned the lack of education, administrative ability and the goals for the Panther group. The talks by RICE and LITTLE were primarily derogatory and ran down the college and instructors for their lack of black identity and black involvement.

It was learned on 2/21/70, approximately 4 carloads of Panthers went to a dance at Winston-Salem, N.C., State University which was a part of black identity week and ROBERT TAYLOR GREER yelled and cursed at people at the dance for their lack of support for the BPP, threatening to forcibly shave some of the Afro hairdos.

Concerning pertinent BPP activities, it is noted that the group at Winston-Salem, N.C., regularly receives approximately 600 copies of BPP newspaper and are observed selling these papers on streets in Winston-Salem, N.C.

The group held their Huey P. Newton Birthday rally on 2/15/70, a complete transcript of which has previously been furnished to the Bureau. Of interest was the fact that no collection was taken for the Huey P. Newton Defense Fund.

2

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge **CONFIDENTIAL**

F B I

Date: 3/12/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

**TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)**

**FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)**

**SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)**  
**RACIAL MATTERS**  
**SMITH ACT OF 1940**  
**SEDITIONOUS CONSPIRACY**  
**REBELLION AND INSURRECTION**

Re Bureau airtel to Albany and others, 3/3/70.

Referenced airtel requested that consideration be given to the obtaining of films produced for the BPP and used by it for propaganda purposes in a manner through which they can be used for evidentiary purposes.

After due consideration and consultation among Agents handling BPP matters in the Charlotte Division, it was determined that Charlotte does not have any informants in a position to obtain the films as desired. It is noted that the only active BPP group is the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) at Winston-Salem, North Carolina. There are no informants in a position to obtain film at Winston-Salem as any communication between BPP Headquarters and Winston-Salem would be directed to LARRY DONNELL LITTLE, Minister of Information.

- ② - Bureau (RM)  
 1 - San Francisco (157-1204) (Info.) (RM)  
 2 - Charlotte (157-6171)

**REC-71****105-165706-8-177**THG:sjw  
(5)

10 MAR 13 1970

Approved: 56 MAY 1 1970

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

**REGAL D. SECT.**

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
*(Type in plaintext or code)*Via \_\_\_\_\_  
*(Priority)*

CE 157-6171

[REDACTED] and would have no logical use for  
the film other than organizational efforts. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Charlotte does not  
desire to be placed in the position of instructing the informant  
to show propaganda films for the BPP.

In the event the opportunity arises in the future  
to obtain the films as desired by the Bureau, the Bureau  
will be immediately advised along with a recommendation for  
Charlotte.

2

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 4/17/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)  
*(Priority)*

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RM

On 4/15/70, the following information was furnished by [REDACTED] (SF T-16), a highly sensitive source whose identity must be protected by adequate paraphrasing if this information is disseminated outside the Bureau:

On 4/15/70, [REDACTED] of Winston-Salem, N.C., advised BPP National Headquarters, Berkeley, Calif., that he is still planning to have the rally at Winston-Salem on 5/3/70, and he would like to have the BPP film called "Off The Pigs" to show at the rally.

BPP National Headquarters advised [REDACTED] they will check the schedule for this film and they are quite confident that he will be able to use it for his rally.

The above is furnished for the information of the Charlotte Division to assist that Division in keeping abreast of BPP activity. The planned rally at Winston-Salem should be appropriately covered and any speeches made by BPP National Headquarters representatives should be recorded if possible.

- 2 - Bureau
- 3 - Charlotte [REDACTED]
- 1 - San Francisco
- RNB/pae

APR 23 1970

54 APR 23 1970  
Approved: [REDACTED]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

SF 157-2861

RNB/pae

San Francisco will continue to furnish any additional information received concerning this matter.

F B I

Date: 4/15/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: ~~Cuff~~ SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RM

On 4/13/70, the following information was furnished by [REDACTED] (SF T-16), a highly sensitive source whose identity must be protected by adequate paraphrasing if this information is disseminated outside the Bureau:

On 4/13/70, an individual, who identified himself as [REDACTED] from Winston-Salem, N.C., contacted BPP National Headquarters, Berkeley, Calif. [REDACTED] reported that he and his associates at Winston-Salem have been involved in a struggle with the City of Winston-Salem concerning housing. He indicated that their efforts have opened the eyes of the people; and even though the Mayor has denounced the Black Panthers, the City has been forced to take some favorable action. He did not furnish further details in this regard.

[REDACTED] further stated he is planning a rally for support of BOBBY SEALE to be held in the Tower Auditorium, Winston-Salem, on 5/3/70. He indicated this auditorium is

REC-29 105-165706-8-175

B APR 17 1970

- ② - Bureau  
\* - Charlotte (157-6171)  
(1 - 157-[REDACTED])  
(1 - 157-[REDACTED])  
3 - San Francisco  
(1 - 157-[REDACTED])  
(1 - 157-2874) (PUBLIC APPEARANCES)

RNB/pae

(9)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M RADIAL UNIT SEC.

Special Agent in Charge

59 APR 30 1970

in the black community and seats about 1300 people. [REDACTED] requested a speaker from BPP National Headquarters for this function, and he was told that Headquarters would check their speaking schedules and see if there was someone that they could send.

[REDACTED] further reported to National Headquarters that the police and the FBI are still harassing them. He said they are not harassing them as openly as before but the harassment still exists.

[REDACTED] also reported to BPP National Headquarters that [REDACTED] has now gone from North Carolina into Virginia and that he [REDACTED] will alert the people in Virginia concerning [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was expelled from the BPP quite some time ago and has been classed as a renegade. However, [REDACTED] reportedly has, from time to time, attempted to organize blacks in the name of the BPP. Apparently this is the type of activity that [REDACTED] is engaged in at this time; and

[REDACTED] at Winston-Salem, N.C., will take some action to denounce him.

LEADS:

CHARLOTTE

AT WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA: Will follow closely the activities of [REDACTED] and his associates of the NCCF and will arrange coverage of any functions sponsored by them. If a representative from BPP National Headquarters appears at any such function, appropriate coverage should be afforded, including the recording of any public statement if possible.

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA: Will continue to be alert for any additional information and will keep the Bureau and appropriate offices advised.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Y

*Memorandum*

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

DATE:

APR 15 1970

cc: *PB*  
FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-22).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) San Francisco Chapter Headquarters, 1336 & 1336½

Fillmore, San Francisco, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

1 - BUREAU RM

2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM

1 - SF

1 - (157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

3/31/70

[REDACTED] from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, to [REDACTED] telling him that they will send what money they can but they cannot pay the full amount they owe. [REDACTED] says that this is OK. He then gives [REDACTED] the flight information on her papers for this week: Delta Airlines Flight 124 arriving Atlanta, Georgia, at 5:30AM, then via Piedmont Airlines to Winston-Salem, arriving at 5:50PM.

*cc: 5 105-165706-174*

15 APR 20 1970

APR 24 1970

(500)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly - the Payroll Savings Plan

XXXXXX  
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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F B I

Date: 3/26/70

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(Type in plaintext or code)

Transmit the following in

Via JINTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Walters  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Carter  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Sayers  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Getty

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub C & Sub 34)

FROM: [REDACTED] SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)

SUBJECT: BPP - CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RI - BLP

The following information was furnished by [REDACTED] (SFT-16) a highly confidential source, on 3/25/70. (u)

[REDACTED] talking to [REDACTED] in Winston Salem, North Carolina, on 3/25/70. [REDACTED] wanted to know about a brother named [REDACTED] (possibly true name being [REDACTED]). [REDACTED] said that [REDACTED] was working in New York and had been talking with [REDACTED] of New York. [REDACTED] wondered if this man had been the one who had been "run out" of North Carolina. [REDACTED] reported that [REDACTED] was a sincere worker, and his social practice was good. He was not run out of the state. (u)

[REDACTED] also said that the group in North Carolina was planning a May Day rally, and wanted someone from National Headquarters, to come to the affair. [REDACTED]

- 3 - Bureau
- 2 - New York (100-K1993)  
(1 - 157- ) ( [REDACTED] )
- 3 - Charlotte (157-6171)  
(1 - 157- )  
(1 - 157- ) [REDACTED]
- 2 - San Francisco  
(1 - 157-1624) (NY)

WAC:vg

REC-105-165706-8-172

APR 16 1970

Classified by

Exempt from CDS, Category 2

Date of Declassification Indefinite

M Per

PC/valv

Approved: 4/27/70

Special Agent in Charge

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INRECORDED COPY FILED

SF 157-2861  
WAC:vg

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

told him to go ahead and schedule the event, and they would try to get something done on getting a speaker there from headquarters. (u)

Copies of this airtel have been sent to New York to indicate that brother [REDACTED] was considered a sincere worker, who was now active around the New York Headquarters. He has not been positively identified, but may be named

(u)  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

DATE: APR 13 1970

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-16).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

(2) - BUREAU

2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM

2 - SF

1- (157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

1-

3/19/70

[REDACTED] He is calling for [REDACTED] at [REDACTED] Winston Salem, N.C. and gets [REDACTED] He tells her that the papers will be in at Piedmont Air Freight tomorrow at 8:30 AM She says that she had not seen [REDACTED] in four nights. She wants to know the time in California and then ask [REDACTED] to bring her out there so she can be a prostitute. He says he is going to write her a long letter and get [REDACTED] to straighten that out. She says that [REDACTED] does not control anything back there and how are all the queens out there.

REC 98

105-165706-8-17

14 APR 15 1970

14 APR 15 1970

(500)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

F B I

Date: 4/1/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR FBI (105-165706) (Sub 8)

FROM: CWD SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RM

On March 31, 1970, the following information was furnished by [redacted], (SF T-22), a highly sensitive source, whose identity must be protected by adequate paraphrasing if this information is disseminated outside the Bureau.

On March 31, 1970, [redacted] of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, contacted BPP National Headquarters, Berkeley, California, reporting that they have sold all of their copies of "The Black Panther" newspaper.

[redacted] said that the BPP newspaper was selling real fast in Winston-Salem and they need additional copies immediately.

[redacted] was advised that the BPP National Distribution Office would ship him additional copies of the BPP newspaper immediately.

The above is furnished for the information of the Charlotte Division to assist that Division in keeping abreast of BPP activities including BPP newspaper sales.

REC-50 105-165706-8-170

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 3 - Charlotte (FM)  
(2 - 157-6171)  
(1 - 157- )
- 2 - San Francisco  
(1 - 157-2861)  
(1 - 157-1581) (Publications)

RNB/krh  
(7)

APR 4 1970

1- f-610

Approved: [Signature] Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

56 APR 4 1970  
Special Agent in Charge

SF 157-2861  
RNB/krh

Since experience has indicated that the BPP newspaper is usually the catalyst around which BPP organizations are formed and held together, Charlotte should remain alert for any indication of expanded BPP activity, in the Winston-Salem area.

XXXXXX  
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**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**  
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- For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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- The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:  
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**UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT**

# *Nemorandum*

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

DATE: 4/2/70

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: C BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE  
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-22) •

(BPP) Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party  
San Francisco Chapter Headquarters, 1336 & 1336½

Fillmore, San Francisco, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

2 - BUREAU  
3 2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) [REDACTED]  
1 - SF  
1 - (157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE  
1 - BLACK PANTHER PARTY - PUBLICATIONS & FILMS SF (157-1581)  
1 - BLACK PANTHER PARTY - FUNDS SF (157-1485)

[REDACTED] from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, to [REDACTED] saying that they just got 8 boxes of [REDACTED] week's paper from New York. This messes them up but they will send \$225.00 out tomorrow morning anyway. [REDACTED] also asks about albums and buttons. [REDACTED] says that they are short on both but if [REDACTED] sends money in advance, they can send him 10 albums, "Seize the Time," and a few buttons.

REC 27

105-165706-8-168

APR 6 1970

(55)

July 1, 1955. Survey of Small Bridges on the Way to the City of  
Tunis

F B I

Date: 3/30/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) AC

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
DOCUMENT "REVOLUTION AND EDUCATION"  
BY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS -  
SEDITIOUS CONSPIRACY SMITH ACT OF 1940

Re New York airtel to Bureau dated 3/27/70 captioned as above, and San Francisco airtel to Bureau dated 3/26/70 captioned, "BPP - CHARLOTTE DIVISION; RM - BPP."

Referenced San Francisco airtel sets forth that as of 3/25/70 SF [REDACTED] (SF T-16) reported that [REDACTED] was asked by [REDACTED] of the BPP about [REDACTED] noting that [REDACTED] was working in New York and had been talking with Captain [REDACTED] of New York. [REDACTED] wondered if this had been the one who had been "run out" of North Carolina.

Contact with informants at Greensboro, N. C., has failed to develop information that [REDACTED] has returned to Greensboro.

In view of the above information, it would appear that [REDACTED] has remained in New York which was his residence prior to coming to North Carolina.

(2) - Bureau (RM)  
3 - New York (RM)  
(2 - 100-161993)  
(1 - 157-4241) (BPP)  
3 - Charlotte  
(2 - 157-6171)  
(1 - 157- [REDACTED])

REC 45

105-165706-8-167

02 MAR 31 1970

54 AD/RDG:stp  
(8)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_

Special

1:40

M RACIAL

105-165706-8-167

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
**CE 157-6171** (Priority)**LEADS:****NEW YORK:****AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK**

Should attempt to locate subject through [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Brooklyn, New York, or through  
BPP informants familiar with the activities of [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

DATE: 4/2/70

*cc: B/B*  
FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE  
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-22)

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) San Francisco Chapter Headquarters, 1336 & 1336½

Fillmore, San Francisco, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

(2 - BUREAU

4 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) [REDACTED]

1 - SF

1- (157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

3/5/70

[REDACTED] (sp) from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, to [REDACTED] saying that he is now handling Circulation. In place of [REDACTED] says that he sent money for the papers, but it is short because they had heavy telephone bills. [REDACTED] says that they just received last week's papers and are dealing with those today. They got \$1,549 last week. [REDACTED] says that he shipped them 4 boxes, 1,400 papers, last night via Delta Airlines, airbill #066 9126. They should arrive tomorrow afternoon. [REDACTED] asks about the "Genius of Huey P. Newton" pamphlet and [REDACTED] says that the printer has promised it for tomorrow. [REDACTED], who is now handling "information to the community", comes on line and tells [REDACTED] that they can use 150 of the pamphlets. [REDACTED] asks for [REDACTED] again and gets spelling of his name and his home tel # as [REDACTED]

58 APR 21 1970

REC- 66/

105-165706-8-166

(50)

*Bill U.S. Savings Bonds Register on the Payroll Savings Plan*

XXXXXX  
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**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**  
**FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET**

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- For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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F B I

Date: 3/19/70

WPS/M

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)AIRTEL  
Via \_\_\_\_\_

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

RM

Re Bureau teletype to Albany, et al, 3/12/70, captioned,  
 "BPP, NEW HAVEN CHAPTER, RM-BPP."

Canvass was made of logical informants familiar with BPP activities, however, none have been approached to travel to New Haven and none were in a position that they would be logically expected to travel to New Haven.

Charlotte has alerted informants to the possibility of other individuals possibly traveling to New Haven and the Bureau and appropriate offices will be kept advised.

- (2) - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - New Haven (RM)
- 2 - Charlotte

THG:jwr

(6)

REC-21 105-165706-8- 164

MAR 21 1970

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Special Agent in Charge

4-528

105 - 165706 - 8 - 163

**CHANGED TO**

105 - 165706 - 7 - 10

APR 17 1970

Oma / E.M.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

DATE: 3/19/70

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

RM

ReBulet to Charlotte, 2/5/70.

The following investigation was conducted by SA [REDACTED]

On 2/24/70, [REDACTED] NISO, Camp Lejeune, N. C., advised that [REDACTED] was the source of information concerning the Black Panther Party (BPP) greeting card.

On 2/27/70, [REDACTED] Jacksonville, N. C., advised that local attorney [REDACTED] very reputable attorney and community servant, had received a BPP greeting card which was signed "Doc." [REDACTED] was very concerned and did not know who would send him such a message.

On 3/13/70, Mr. [REDACTED] Attorney, [REDACTED] Jacksonville, N. C., advised he had received a BPP greeting card from Greensboro, N. C., signed "Doc" and was very concerned as to its origin. He had given the card to [REDACTED] to determine its source. The name [REDACTED] aka Doc, was discussed with Mr. [REDACTED] who stated he recalls [REDACTED] having lived and worked in this area but had never approached [REDACTED] as a client. [REDACTED] in-law, (FNU) [REDACTED] had worked as a domestic (maid) for [REDACTED] but their association was always pleasant and Mr. [REDACTED] has always had the reputation of representing the Negroes in legal matters in the community and is highly regarded. Mr. [REDACTED] stated he is having the matter checked through his Negro friends to determine if [REDACTED] is the person who sent the card, and will advise the results.

REC-77 105-165706-8-162 800

2 - Bureau (RM)

4 - Charlotte (3-157-6171) EX-117  
(1-157-5893)

THG APR 2 1970

MAR 23 1970



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CE 157-6171

LEADS

CHARLOTTE

AT JACKSONVILLE, N. C.

Will maintain contact with Mr. [REDACTED]

F B I

Date: 1/5/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

**TO:** DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

**FROM:** SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P) *TP*

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -**  
VIOLENCE  
RM

(BUDED 1/5/70)

*VIA AIRTEL*  
Re Bureau airtel to Albany, et al, 12/18/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau are four (4) copies of LHM, being submitted per reairtel.

② - Bureau (Encs. 4) *(RM) ENCLOSURE*  
2 - Charlotte *11* *16*

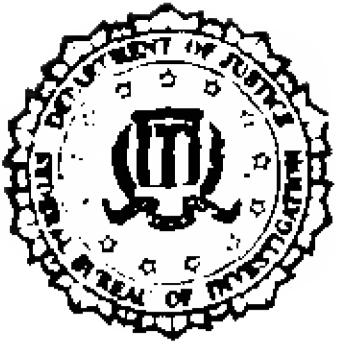
THG:jwr  
(4)

*16 8 1697* REC-93 105-165706-8-161

17 JAN 8 1970

RACIAL INT. SECTION

Approved: *M. J. G.* Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge *1/11* *1/11*



## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

January 5, 1970

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
VIOLENCE  
RACIAL MATTERS**

---

**VIOLENT ACTS, CHARLOTTE,  
NORTH CAROLINA**

On August 3, 1969, ten (10) members of the group at Charlotte, North Carolina, desiring affiliation with the BPP were driving around in a rented panel truck. They started following a vehicle occupied by four white teenagers at speeds as high as 50 miles per hour approximately six feet from the bumper of the white teenagers' automobile. The white teenagers' automobile stalled and its occupants ran into the yard of a house on Bellhaven Boulevard, at which time the group in the panel truck fired six shots at them without any known provocation. The panel truck continued on down Bellhaven Boulevard for approximately one-half mile, at which time it was wrecked and the occupants ran into the nearby woods. Local authorities arrested the ten individuals, charging all under the common law of "going armed to the terror of the people" and in addition, one was charged with assault with a deadly weapon and speeding too fast for conditions. Located near the truck were two 12 gauge shotguns and two pistols.

On August 16, 1969, at approximately 3:00 a.m., OTIS BLACKMON, Negro male, owner and operator of the Chick-N-Ribs

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

ENCL OCT 20 1970

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
VIOLENCE**

Drive-In, and his son observed two members of the group at Charlotte desiring affiliation with the BPP prowling around the restaurant delivery truck. The two were ordered to leave and an argument developed. Approximately one hour later the two individuals, along with an additional group of Negroes, returned to the drive-in. At this time all were dressed in black with black berets. There were a total of thirteen Panthers around with various weapons who started shooting at the building containing the Chick-N-Ribs Drive-In, with OTIS BLACKMON and his son OTIS JAMES BLACKMON returning the fire.

During the shoot out OTIS JAMES BLACKMON was shot in the upper arm.

Concerning the BPP members, JAMES MICHAEL BLACK received a minor gunshot wound in the hand and was arrested by the Charlotte Police Department and charged with assault with a deadly weapon with intent to kill. VERONICA HAGANS, Negro female, received a stab wound in the stomach with a butcher knife from OTIS BLACKMON when she attempted to enter the restaurant. CHARLES HENRY SAMPSON, JR. received a minor gunshot wound, however, required no medical treatment. JAMES MICHAEL BLACK and JAMES EDWARD PRATHER were charged with assault by discharging a firearm into an occupied dwelling. Seized from the Panther group were a .22 caliber rifle and a 7 millimeter bolt action rifle. VERONICA HAGANS refused to make any statement as to how she was stabbed or to bring charges against anyone, however, claimed that upon her being released from the hospital she would kill OTIS BLACKMON herself. As of January 5, 1970, this threat has not been carried out.

**VIOLENT ACTS, GREENSBORO,  
NORTH CAROLINA**

On March 13, 1969, a strike of food service workers was in progress at A and T State University, a predominantly

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -**  
**VIOLENCE**

Negro school at Greensboro, North Carolina. Supporting the food service workers were a number of students and outsiders who considered themselves to be members of the BPP, the leader of which was ERIC PATRICK BROWN. Contributions were being asked from merchants in the area to support the striking workers, however, the owner of Sid's Curb Market, Mr. BAIN, refused to donate. On the afternoon of March 13, 1969, a group of Negro males led by ERIC PATRICK BROWN who, at that time was the area captain for the BPP in Greensboro, ransacked Sid's Curb Market, doing approximately \$1200 damage and stealing \$400 from the cash register. Mr. BAIN was severely beaten, requiring five stitches to close cuts. ERIC BROWN was identified as the individual removing the money from the cash register and received two to six years on the charge of common law robbery.

During May, 1969, racial violence erupted at Dudley High School, Greensboro, North Carolina, with the major issue being the refusal of the school administration to allow a militant student to run for class president. This situation continued until May 21, 1969. That morning, at approximately 8:15 a.m., over one hundred students from Dudley High School, instead of going to class, stayed out of school and listened to representatives of the BPP and at approximately noon the group went back to the school and refused to go to class or disperse, at which time tear gas was used. Rock throwing and sniping at police started that night and continued until the next morning. National guard elements were moved in to assist the police. In the early morning hours no police cars could get in the area of A and T due to heavy fire. With the approach of darkness on May 22, 1969, the sniping resumed and information was received that large quantities of guns and ammunition were observed in Scott Hall. Shortly after 1:00 a.m., May 23, 1969, two regular Greensboro police officers and three auxiliary policemen were hit by gunfire from the area of the Student Union Building. On the morning of May 23, 1969, the campus

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
VIOLENCE**

was cleared by officers of the North Carolina National Guard using armored personnel carrier. Bottles of sulfuric and hydrochloric acid were tied to limbs of trees as booby traps and four operable weapons were found in Scott Hall. One student was killed and one injured during the disruption. According to sources, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] have bragged of their participation in the racial disturbance at A and T State University.

**PLANNED ACTS OF VIOLENCE**

During January and February, 1969, individuals at Greensboro, North Carolina, who considered themselves to be members of the BPP, discussed creating a disturbance in a Negro area by rock and bottle throwing to draw a large crowd of police cars. One area mentioned was a dead-end street off Laurel Street in Greensboro. After drawing a crowd of police cars, snipers would then shoot the police officers. It is noted that during the disturbance at A and T State University during March, 1969, five police officers were injured in the area of Laurel Street by some snipers.

On February 8, 1969, a white employee of the Thrifty Curb Market, East Market Street, Greensboro, was involved in an altercation with a Negro male. This information was given to the Black Panthers, who had already discussed the fact that all of the white merchants in the Negro section "had to go." The Black Panther group discussed bombing the Thrifty Curb Market on the night of February 10, 1969, but subsequently called this plan off before five of the Panthers went to the Thrifty Curb Market in African regalia. This was to make their presence known and shake up the manager of the market.

During the last week of May, 1969, [REDACTED] and other BPP members rode around Greensboro and Winston-Salem, North Carolina. [REDACTED] was planning to locate a place in Greensboro in a better class white residential neighborhood

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
VIOLENCE**

to fire bomb in order to keep up the tension in Greensboro. Their purpose for going to Winston-Salem was the fact that [REDACTED] claimed the Panthers needed more guns and he had picked out a hardware store to burglarize. However, no information was received that either plan was carried out.

**EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED DURING ALL  
ENCOUNTERS WITH MEMBERS OF AND ASSOCIATES OF THE BPP AS THEY  
ARE REPORTEDLY ATTEMPTING TO PREARRANGE THE LOCATION OF INTER-  
VIEWS IN ORDER TO KILL FBI AGENTS. DUE TO THEIR PROVEN RECORD  
OF ATTEMPTS TO KILL POLICE OFFICERS, ALL BPP MEMBERS AND  
ASSOCIATES ARE CONSIDERED ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.**

A characterization of the BPP is attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service" states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968 contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people. colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite. Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

F B I

Date: 2/18/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

7  
 BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
 DOCUMENT "REVOLUTION AND EDUCATION"  
 BY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
 RM - SEDITIOUS CONSPIRING  
 SMITH ACT, 1940

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau, 2/13/70, and  
 San Francisco airtel to Bureau, 2/13/70.



2-Bureau (105-165706) (RM)  
 1-Houston (157-1352) (RM)  
 1-San Francisco (157-4807) (RM)  
 3-Charlotte (2 - 157-6171)

105-165706-8160

10 FEB 9 1970

THG:fcr  
(7)

Approved: COMAR 26 1970  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

RACIAL JUST. SECT.

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
*(Type in plaintext or code)*

Via \_\_\_\_\_ (Priority)

CE 157-6171

It is noted that [REDACTED] was reported by source to be in attendance at this meeting. He has not been interviewed, however, a non-prosecutive summary report was submitted re [REDACTED] in Charlotte file [REDACTED]. The only avenue open to Charlotte for the verification of information as furnished by [REDACTED] would be through an interview of [REDACTED]. There is no indication he would be cooperative and, in fact, in all probability he would be uncooperative, however, if the Bureau so directs, an interview will be conducted using suitable tactics to insure the identity of [REDACTED] is secure.

Oct 19th - Will return  
to State & enter  
University of  
Tenn

- 2 -

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX

**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**  
**FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET**

2

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(1); (b)(2) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

- For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
- The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:  
105-165706-8-159

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 X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
 X FOR THIS PAGE X  
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

F B I

Date: 3/13/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)  
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) TDR  
 BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
 RM

Re San Francisco airtel to Director, 3/6/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies, for San Francisco one copy and for Columbia one copy, of an LHM captioned as above, copies of which have been disseminated locally to military intelligence agencies and Secret Service.

SF T-16 is [REDACTED]

SA [REDACTED]  
105-165706-8-158  
105-165706-8-158  
Investigation at Winston-Salem, N. C., was by [REDACTED]

It is noted that no confrontation occurred between Panthers and law enforcement officials as reported by [REDACTED] to the BPP National Headquarters in referenced San Francisco airtel.

The LHM is classified Confidential, Group I, due to the inclusion of information from [REDACTED] a highly confidential source of the San Francisco Office, operated under departmental authorization.

REC-77  
105-165706-8-158  
2 - Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM) 11  
1 - Columbia (157-4975) (Enc. 1) (RM)  
1 - San Francisco (157-2861) (Enc. 1) (RM) MAR 17 1970  
3 - Charlotte {2 - 157-6171} (1 - [REDACTED])  
[REDACTED]

THG:dh  
(7)

RACING INT. SEC  
[REDACTED]

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
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CE 157-6171  
-----  
(Priority)

Columbia discontinue efforts to determine location  
of the incident as it occurred at Winston-Salem, N. C.

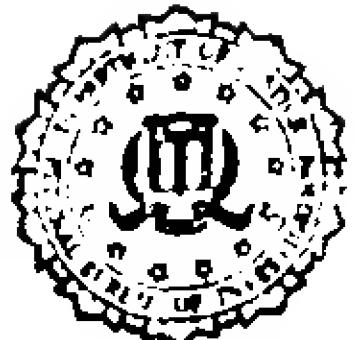
LEADS:CHARLOTTEAT WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

Will continue to follow and report developments  
within the BPP.

2

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1960 O - 348-090 (11)



## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

March 13, 1970

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. [REDACTED]BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
RACIAL MATTERS

On March 5, 1970, SF T-16 reported that [REDACTED] of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, had advised the National Headquarters of the Black Panther Party (BPP) at Berkeley, California, that in connection with an eviction proceeding for nonpayment of rent Deputies had moved a woman's belongings into the street and these were returned by brothers to the house with armed guards posted after which the law enforcement officers withdrew from the scene.

On March 12, 1970, Forsyth County Deputy Sheriffs [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] advised that on approximately the third of March, 1970, they went to the area of Locust Street and first went to a residence at [REDACTED] Winston-Salem, North Carolina, with eviction papers.

A Negro woman, [REDACTED] was sick in bed so they did not evict this family, but told them to find another place to live as they would have to come back in a few days to evict them.

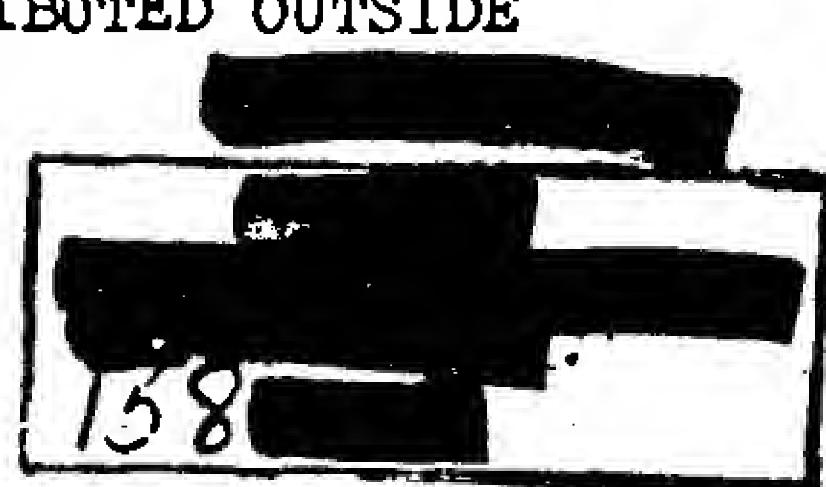
They then went to [REDACTED] with a magistrate's order of eviction for the residents, noting they had previously been served with a magistrate's summons on eviction. No one was home and the door was padlocked on the outside. They pulled the hasp with a crowbar and started putting the furniture in the street as ordered by the magistrate's order of eviction. This

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DECLASSIFIED BY 6049  
ON 5-27-77

PC/vlw

13-1-1



ENCLOSURE

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

was listed as the home of [REDACTED] but after they had removed approximately one half of the furniture, an unidentified woman who was drunk and yelling and swearing said that this was her furniture and not to set it out. She picked up a hammer and started after the people moving the furniture, but the deputies told her to leave and she did.

During this time another drunken Negro female, identified as [REDACTED] came in swearing and yelling but [REDACTED] also left. The deputies advised they started to move the cook stove, but could not do so as it would fall apart so they left it in the house.

They then went to a house at the corner of Locust and 16th Street, with papers for eviction, but found there was a drunk blind elderly Negro man in the back room. He had apparently accidentally kicked over a portable oil stove as there was oil on the floor and the house was full of smoke. The deputies advised they set the stove back up to insure there was not a fire hazard and told him of the eviction, but as he was old and blind, they did not evict him and told him to find a new place to stay as they would have to come back in a few days and evict him.

[REDACTED] During this time, the Negro female identified as [REDACTED] came into this house, swearing and yelling, and was told to leave or she would be arrested for cursing and abusing an officer. She said "You go to hell, you don't have enough authority to arrest me because we all stick together over here." She then ran out and went down Locust Street yelling "Let's all stick together."

The deputies advised they then went on about their normal business and did not ever see any Panthers in the area. These activities occurred at approximately 10 AM and at approximately 2 PM [REDACTED] Forsyth County Sheriff's Office, called them on the radio and told them the rent had been paid on all three of the above-described places and not to evict them.

The deputies emphasized there had been no encounter with Panthers and no racial incident and they had not even seen any Black Panthers in the area.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The March 3, 1970, issue of The Twin City Sentinel, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, daily newspaper, contained an article which states in part that that morning two members of the Black Panther Party stationed themselves outside a house on Locust Street, whose occupant had been evicted earlier by Deputy Sheriff [redacted] after moving her furniture and possessions back into the house. The newspaper article quoted the Panthers as stating they would resist attempts to re-evict the woman.

The Journal, daily Winston-Salem, North Carolina, newspaper, in its issue of March 4, 1970, contained an article under the caption "Donor Pays Rents, Avoiding Evictions," which article is quoted in part as follows:

"An anonymous donor paid \$540 in back rent and court fees yesterday and postponed the evictions of three East Winston tenants.

"The action averted a possible armed confrontation between sheriffs' deputies, who were making the evictions, and Black Panthers, who were posted around the area with loaded guns.

"The money was paid to L. F. PEED and Son real estate company about 3 PM yesterday by ROBERT LAW, a staff member of the Experiment in Self-Reliance. LAW would not reveal where the money came from.

"MARK H. FREEMAN, director of the Urban Coalition, said last night that a person had given the money to the coalition, and that the coalition would use it to reimburse the Experiment, which took the money from its emergency fund."

In February [redacted] 1970, [redacted] identified LARRY DONNELL LITTLE as the Minister of Information of the National Committee to Combat Fascism at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, which group considers itself to be a Black Panther Party affiliated organization.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

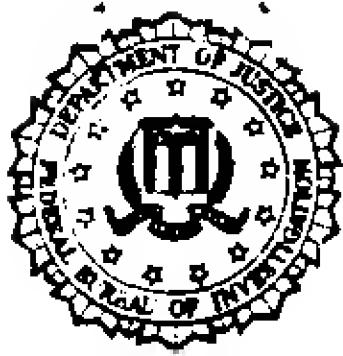
"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people. colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIONCharlotte, North Carolina  
March 13, 1970In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Title                    BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Character            RACIAL MATTERS

Reference            memorandum prepared at  
                          Charlotte, North Carolina,  
                          dated and captioned as above

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

F B I

Date: 3/16/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)  
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-7064) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
 DOCUMENTS "REVOLUTION AND EDUCATION"  
 BY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
 ARL - SMITH ACT OF 1940

Re Charlotte letter to Director, 1/29/70 and Bureau  
 airtel to San Francisco, 3/12/70.

Referenced Charlotte letter which enclosed a photograph  
 of [REDACTED] for Denver and San Francisco, indicated  
 that efforts were being made by the Charlotte Office through the [REDACTED]  
 to obtain hand-  
 writing samples of [REDACTED]

On 3/16/70, [REDACTED]

unable [REDACTED] advised that he had been  
 to locate any handwriting of [REDACTED]

On 3/16/70, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] were personally  
 contacted by SA [REDACTED]. Both [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] personally  
 perused all available records and stated they could locate no  
 handwriting whatsoever of [REDACTED]. They also indicated that all  
 instructors of [REDACTED] no longer are in the [REDACTED]

(2) - Bureau (RM)  
 2 - Denver (157-403) (RM)  
 2 - San Francisco (157-1204) (RM) REC-28  
 2 - Charlotte

105-165706-8-157

MAR 17 1970

LDP:egp  
 (8)

RACIAL M. SECT.

Approved: [REDACTED] Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
 MAR 27 1970  
 Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
CE 157-7064 (Priority)

[REDACTED] Driver's License Section, North Carolina Department of Motor Vehicles, Raleigh, N.C., advised on 3/16/70 that [REDACTED] has a current N. C. driver's license. She stated, however, that the state of North Carolina does not retain driver's license applications or other written material, except a signature which appears on the driver's license.

LEADS:CHARLOTTE,AT RALEIGH, N.C.

Will through [REDACTED] Driver's License Section, NCDMV, obtain the known signature of [REDACTED], which appears on his current N.C. driver's license and submit same to the FBI Laboratory as requested in January, 1970.

F B I

Date:

3/3/70

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Sugars \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

**AIRTEL****AIR MAIL**

(Priority)

**TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 sub 8)****FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1581 C)****SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY — *Office*  
FILMS AND PUBLICATIONS  
RM**

On 2/27/70, the following information was furnished by [REDACTED] (SF T-22) a highly sensitive source whose identity must be protected by adequate paraphrasing if this information is disseminated outside the Bureau.

National Distribution Office of the Black Panther Party, San Francisco, California, shipped 4 boxes of papers to LARRY LITTLE, via Delta Airlines flight 894, air bill number 1735366, due to arrive at Atlanta, Georgia, at 7:41 p.m. LARRY LITTLE is active in the area of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and it would appear that he would be picking up his papers at Atlanta.

The Bureau has previously instructed that Field Divisions receiving shipments of BPP publications should verify the shipments through independent sources.

San Francisco does not desire an answer to this communication. Information concerning instant shipment should be included in your quarterly BPP report and any other appropriate communication.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
 2 - Charlotte (157-6171) (RM)  
 3 - San Francisco  
 (1 - 157-2861)  
 WAC/rig  
 (7)

REC-123

105-165706-8- 156

EX-110

FEB 11 1970

5

FEB 11 1970

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

105-165706-8-155  
**CHANGED TO**  
105-165706-7-7

MAR 26 1970

SAm

EX-117

REC-9A 105-165706-8-154

March 13, 1970

[REDACTED]  
Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27101

Dear [REDACTED]

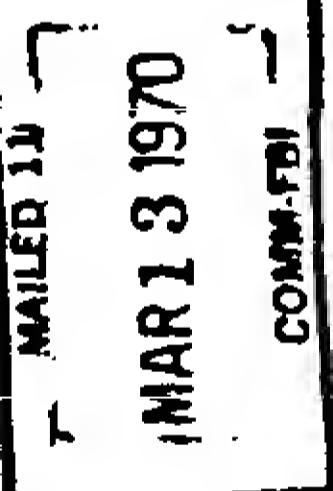
I have received your communication of March 8th and can understand the concern which prompted you to write.

With respect to your comments, the FBI conducts a considerable amount of investigation regarding the activities of those individuals and organizations which seek to undermine our basic freedoms and threaten the internal security of our country. The results of our inquiries are furnished to the Department of Justice which has the responsibility for determining whether prosecution is warranted in these matters.

In view of your interest, I am enclosing material relating to some of our work in the internal security field.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



Enclosures (4)

An Analysis of the New Left: A Gospel of Nihilism

Counterintelligence Activities

A Study in Marxist Revolutionary Violence

Director's testimony 4/17/69 re Communist, Racial and Extremist Groups

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. She enclosed a newspaper clipping setting forth the facts concerning the eviction of a resident in Winston-Salem, North Carolina as presented by the owner of the residence.

DMW:pmt (3) ✓

Leon \_\_\_\_\_  
Lorch \_\_\_\_\_  
Mills \_\_\_\_\_  
John \_\_\_\_\_  
Sishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Hooper \_\_\_\_\_  
McMahon \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele \_\_\_\_\_  
Hansen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Dykes \_\_\_\_\_  
15 P.M.  
James \_\_\_\_\_  
Sandy \_\_\_\_\_

4 MAR 19 1970 MAIL TELETYPE UNIT

TRUE COPY

[REDACTED] Winston Salem, N. C. 27101  
March 8, 1970

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I'm frightened and distressed at the terrible inroads that the communists, black and white, have made in our country today.

Last week, here in our city a negro woman was evicted from her house because of non payment of rent. The next day the Black Panthers moved her furniture back into the house and pictures in our local paper showed the Panthers standing in front of the house armed with rifles and declared they would use them on any law enforcement officers who came to evict the woman again. An anonymous person payed her back rent so there was no confrontation between the police and Black Panthers. My question is, who controls our city, the police or the Black Panthers?

I'm enclosing a letter of explanation to our local paper by the realestate agent who had evicted the woman by court order.

Why is it the Black Panthers and other negro militants create so much violence then be coddeled by the authorities and yet any white orginizations are hounded and persecuted ?

It seems to me that our country is in a state of siege by these negro and white communists and I wonder what can be done to stop it now before it is too late.

Sincerely,

[REDACTED]  
EX-117

TRUE COPY

12 MAR 16 1970

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
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\_\_\_\_\_

For your information: Copy of original letter

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# Letters to the Sentinel

Newton Speaks Out

I, a Republican candidate for mayor, feel it my duty, as a result of recent newspaper reports starting this past Friday, Feb. 27, in the Sentinel, to speak out and speak loudly at this time on the subject of law and order.

I believe the founders of this great nation and the writers of the Constitution of the United States were writing with God-given wisdom. I, myself, believe in orderly procedure and proper due process of law and do by every act and deed try to proceed in this manner as far as humanly possible.

With respect to recent newspaper pictures showing a small faction brandishing firearms, I say this is a dangerous situation. It will be a darker day in Winston-Salem than a total eclipse of the Sun and a most mournful time if a small group of seeming insurgents start shooting. This type of conflict between people would be more horrible than international war as there are rules of war that nations abide by when they are in conflict. Now I wish to admonish this small faction to forget about shooting people and use their shotguns for the shooting of rabbits, quail, squirrels, deer, bears and wild turkeys. In this kind of shooting they will get out in the open and see the wonderful workings of nature and the Almighty God and it is my hope that these sights will bring them to their senses. I have been working hard these past few weeks, from early morning until late in the night, and I am tiring and expect in the next few days to go down around Moncks Corner, South Carolina on a wild turkey hunt and hope to come back most refreshed. Won't you wrong-thinking people consider doing likewise?

In regard to the Feb. 27, Sentinel news article concerning a private matter between myself as agent of the owner of a house on Northwest Boulevard and Mrs. Minnie Bellamy, I make the following statement.

Mrs. Bellamy had me as agent rent which she should have been able to pay without difficulty. She failed to pay me and I started a proper legal action to collect rent and at that point business relations were terminated between me as agent and Mrs. Minnie Bellamy. The court heard the evidence in this matter, handed down a decision or judgment for the rent that she owed and a judgment for possession of the house. Mrs. Bellamy had the choice of moving or paying up the rent. An officer of the law worked with her for a week, trying to get her to move or pay. Finally, without success in either direction, on orders of the court which were signed by a court officer, he evicted Mrs. Bellamy. I happen to know personally the sheriff's deputy who handled this eviction and know him to be a good humored man and a man of good disposition. He did not purposefully damage Mrs. Bellamy's property.

As to the weather on Friday, Feb. 27, the day on which the Minnie Bellamy eviction took place the sun was shining; the Newspapers predicted a warming trend, it was a cold night Thursday prior to the eviction on Friday but had warmed up considerably at the time the court effected the eviction.

I, as your next mayor of the City of Winston-Salem, will work for the upbuilding of both people and things. We already have laws on the books and the agencies to upbuild both people and things. I will put forth all my energies and efforts to upbuild people and things and as to these agencies that work with the upbuilding of people, I will see that they get on the move and teach such people as make up the Bellamy family to learn to budget their money, prepare proper nutritional meals for themselves, do better housekeeping, and make of themselves better citizens so that they will improve their lot in life and in so doing improve the lot of their fellowman.

—JERRY L. NEWTON, JR.  
Winston-Salem.

System  
Information  
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1100 F STREET, WASHINGTON, D.C.

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

DATE: MAR 13 1970

Dele [initials] / B  
FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [redacted] (SF T-16)

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source originated under Departmental authorization, but is COMINT LEVEL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

1 - SF

1 - (157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

2/23/70

[redacted] asking for material on the BPP which she had requested sometime ago. [redacted] will arrange to have it sent. [redacted] gives her address as Greenville, North Carolina.

REC 8

105-165706-8-153

1117 e MAR 13 1970

A. M. C.

51 MAR 20 1970

3rd U.S. Savings Bonds Register on the Payroll Savings Plan

F B I

Date: 3/9/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1581c)(P)

RE: C BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - *Ref. 172*  
FILMS AND PUBLICATIONS  
RM - BPP

On 3/5/70, the following information was furnished by [REDACTED] (SF T-22), a highly sensitive source whose identity must be protected by adequate paraphrasing if this information is disseminated outside the Bureau.

BPP National Distribution Office, San Francisco, Calif., shipped four boxes containing 1400 copies of the BPP newspaper to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, by Delta Airlines. on air bill number 0669126. The time that this shipment was scheduled to arrive in Winston-Salem was not available, but the indication was that the shipment would arrive on the afternoon of 3/6/70.

The Bureau has previously instructed that Field Divisions receiving shipments of BPP publications should verify these shipments through independent sources.

San Francisco does not desire an answer to this communication. Information concerning instant shipment should be included in your next BPP report and any other appropriate communication.

RFC 27

105-165706-8-152

14 MAR 11 1970

- C - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Charlotte (157-6171)(RM)
- 2 - San Francisco  
(1 - 157-2861)(CHARLOTTE)
- RNB:aji
- (6)

59 MAR 17 1970  
FD-36-8-Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 3/6/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)  
FROM [REDACTED] SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)(P) *TPK*  
RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RM - BPP

[REDACTED] (SF T-16), a highly confidential source whose information should not be disseminated without adequate paraphrasing, advised as follows on March 5, 1970.

An individual identifying himself as [REDACTED] from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, contacted BPP National headquarters at Berkeley, Calif., speaking with [REDACTED]. According to source, [REDACTED] furnished a verbal report concerning an incident which occurred Tuesday, March 3, 1970 in South Carolina, specific location unknown. In this report, [REDACTED] advised that some landlords were trying to evict people for non-payment of rent and they refused to leave. He indicated that deputies came in and moved a woman's belongings out on the street and the brothers returned the belongings and posted armed guards outside the home, after which the "pigs" withdrew from the scene.

[REDACTED] was instructed to submit a full report of the incident together with pictures for utilization in the BPP newspaper. Source had no further information with respect to this matter.

- 0 - Bureau (RM)
- 3 - Charlotte (157-6171)(RM) (I - 157- [REDACTED])
- 2 - Columbia (157-4975)(RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (I - 157-2958)

JAC:aji  
(0)

REC 85

105-165706-8-151

• MAR 12 1970

ENCLOSURE

Approved: *J. D. S.* Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M P

PAC [REDACTED] / SECT.

59 MAR 7 1970

SF 157-2861  
JAC:aji

The above is furnished for the information of Charlotte who should endeavor to fully identify [REDACTED] and his current activities if unknown to that Office.

Columbia should endeavor to ascertain from appropriate sources where the incident reported by [REDACTED] occurred and ascertain full details with respect to this matter which should then be submitted to the Bureau by appropriate LHM's suitable for dissemination.

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**  
**FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET**

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- For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : *M*  
FROM :

DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

DATE: 2/26/70

SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

SUBJECT: *(2)*  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RM - BPP

Re San Francisco airtel to Bureau dated 2/17/70.

Referenced airtel reflected a conversation between [REDACTED], Winston-Salem, N. C., with [REDACTED] 2/16/70, pertaining to the newspaper problems and [REDACTED] and also mentions unidentified persons from Fort Bragg, N. C., coming by for papers.

[REDACTED]

An unidentified person from Fort Bragg, N. C., may be [REDACTED] a Fort Bragg soldier who has previously been in contact with BPP members in Connecticut, and is originally from Connecticut.

[REDACTED]

Investigation continuing.

- (2) - Bureau (RM)  
1 - San Francisco (157-2861) (Info) (RM)  
5 - Charlotte (2-157-6171)

(1-  
(1-  
(1-

TX-102

THG:jwr  
(8)

REC-33

105-165706-8-149

2 MAR 2 1970

RACIAL JUSTICE



1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

F B I

Date: 2/17/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTELAIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) (Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RM - BPP

The following information was furnished by [redacted]  
(SF T-16), a highly confidential source, on 2/16/70.

[redacted] from Winston-Salem, North Carolina,  
complained to [redacted] on 2/16/70, that Winston-Salem had not received its newspapers.  
He also pointed out that the papers, in the past, had been arriving seven to eight days late.

[redacted] complained that they were not able to sell these papers, and, therefore, could not send in any money.  
He also mentioned that some fellows from Fort Bragg, not identified, came by for papers and it was necessary to give them some of the old ones.

[redacted] also mentioned that they had had a rally, but had "got the wrong speaker". This last remark was not further explained.

[redacted] then went on to mention someone called [redacted] and indicated that he thought this man was an old Panther from New York. [redacted] did not say what [redacted] connection was with Panther activities in North Carolina.

In reply to [redacted] last complaint, to the effect that the newspapers, when they arrived were often wet, [redacted]

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Charlotte (RM)
- (1 - 157-6171)
- (1 - 157- [redacted])
- 2 - San Francisco
- WAC/krh
- (6)

105-165706-8-147

1 FEB 19 1970

RACIAL JUSTICE SECTION

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M  
Special Agent in Charge

SF 157-2861  
WAC/krh

instructed [REDACTED] to secure an attorney to look into the matter.

The above material is furnished to Charlotte to indicate the continuing activity on the part of [REDACTED] in the Winston-Salem area.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MISCELLANEOUS

9

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

DATE: 2/5/70

CiB/B  
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-22).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) San Francisco Chapter Headquarters, 1336 & 1336 1/2

Fillmore, San Francisco, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

2 - BUREAU

3 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) [REDACTED]

3 - SF

1- (157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

1- BLACK PANTHER PARTY - ORGANIZATION SF (157-2872)

1- [REDACTED]

REC-3 105-165706-8-146

SF-111

ENCLOSURE

105-165706-8-146

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

RACIAL SECT.

125-70

[REDACTED] (ph), then [REDACTED], from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, to [REDACTED] reporting that they received Volume 8 of the paper before they received Vol. 7; Vol. 7 was 2 weeks late, so now they have 7,000 papers to deal with all at once. [REDACTED] blames this on the pigs and instructs [REDACTED] to send in a report on it so they can file a claim. [REDACTED] agrees, saying that they are expanding all over the state and this has brought the shit down on them. [REDACTED] asks [REDACTED] how everything is and [REDACTED] says it's the struggle; he just got back here from Colorado. [REDACTED] puts [REDACTED] on the line again, identifying her as the [REDACTED] promises to send in a report on the paper foul up. She asks when her financial report is due and [REDACTED] checks, then says it's due every Wednesday.

ENCLOSURE

125-11-1

F B I

Date: 2/13/70

Mr. Tolson  
 Mr. DeLoach  
 Mr. Walters  
 Mr. Mohr  
 Mr. Bishop  
 Mr. Casper  
 Mr. Callahan  
 Mr. Conrad  
 Mr. Felt  
 Mr. Gale  
 Mr. Rosen  
 Mr. Sullivan  
 Mr. Tavel  
 Mr. Soyars  
 Tele. Room  
 Miss Holmes  
 Miss Gandy

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
 (Type in plaintext or code)  
 Via **AIRTEL** **AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)**  
 (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1581C)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
FILMS AND PUBLICATIONS  
RMCHIAROLLE

On 2/12/70, the following information was furnished by [REDACTED] (SF T-22), a highly sensitive source, whose identity must be protected by adequate paraphrasing if this information is disseminated outside the Bureau:

A shipment of newspapers was sent by BPP National Distribution, San Francisco, Calif., to Winston-Salem, N.C., by way of Baltimore. The shipping information indicates that this shipment will arrive at Winston-Salem from Baltimore at 6:25 a.m. 2/13/70. The name of the carrier from Baltimore to Winston-Salem is not available to San Francisco at this time. However, the shipment is on Air Bill No. 24771913.

Also, source was unable to determine the quantity of newspapers in this shipment, but it probably is not more than one or two boxes. REC-51

The Bureau has previously instructed that Field Divisions receiving shipments of BPP publications should verify the shipments through independent sources.

- ✓ 2 - Bureau
- ✓ 2 - Charlotte (157-6171)
- ✓ 2 - San Francisco  
(1 - 157-2861)

RNB/pae

(6)

105-165706-8-145

17 FEB 17 1970

Approved: J. M.

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

69 FEB 26 1970

SF 157-1581C  
RNB/pae

San Francisco does not desire an answer to this communication. Information concerning instant shipment should be included in your quarterly BPP report and any other appropriate communication.

XXXXXX  
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XXXXXX

**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**  
**FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET**

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*St*  
FBI WASH DC

FBI CHARLT

1226 PM URGENT 2-12-70 BSH  
TO DIRECTOR 8105-165706 SUB 8  
FROM CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - SCHOOL APPFARANCES, RACIAL  
MATTERS.

RE DIRECTOR TELETYPE FEBRUARY TEN, SEVENTY.

REVIEW OF CHARLOTTE FILE REFLECTS STOKLEY CARMICHAEL,  
WHILE PRIME MINISTER, BPP, MADE FOUR COLLEGE APPEARANCES IN  
N.C. DURING NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT. CARVER GENE NEBLETT,  
WHILE EAST COAST FIELD MARSHAL, BPP, AND DOROTHY JEAN MC QUEEN  
HUGHES, SECRETARY OF CARMICHAEL, BOTH APPEARED AT FAYETTEVILLE,  
N.C., STATE COLLEGE APRIL TWENTYONE, SIXTY NINE.

INFORMATION RE APPEARANCES PREVIOUSLY FURNISHED BOSTON

AS [REDACTED] AND WFO [REDACTED]

AIR MAIL COPIES TO BOSTON AND WFO.

END

ELR

FBI WASH DC

*J J Y ?*  
*2/17/70*

*FEB 17 1970*

CC

*105-165706-8-143*

F B I

Date: 2/6/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. " " \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Gandy  
Mr. R. \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room  
Miss P. \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy

*WES/jac*

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)  
*Attn: Director*  
 FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861) (P)  
 RE: C BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
 RM - BPP

The following information was furnished by  
 (SF T-16) a highly confidential source on  
 2/4/70.

[REDACTED] of the Winston-Salem group in North Carolina contacted [REDACTED] at BPP Headquarters in Berkeley, discussing a report he had sent into National Headquarters. He further advised that they were going to start a breakfast program in Winston-Salem next week. [REDACTED] asked about the possibility of having a speaker come up from National for the February 15 celebration (HUEY NEWTON birthday celebrations). [REDACTED] said he would check and find out if they had anyone available. [REDACTED] said that his present home phone number was 919- [REDACTED]. *AX/E*

[REDACTED] then went on to mention that [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] (possibly [REDACTED]) had been down in North Carolina, and were organizing a group under the name of the Southern Van Guard Revolutionary Party. [REDACTED] asked [REDACTED] to send in all information concerning the activity of this group, whom [REDACTED] would then expose in the Panther Press as being renegades. [REDACTED] instructed [REDACTED] to try to get the Black GIs to form a coalition and send [REDACTED] the information as to its efforts back to National Headquarters. [REDACTED] asked

*105-165706-8-142*

- (2) - Bureau(RM)
- Charlotte (157-6171)(RM)
- (1 - 157- [REDACTED])
- (1 - 157- [REDACTED])
- (1 - 157- [REDACTED] (?)
- 2 - San Francisco (157-2861)

B FEB 17 1970

*-5-*

WAC:ajz 109

(8) *765*

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

SF 157-2861

WAC:ajz

about a local newspaper account which had claimed that the Panthers were planning a liberation week from the 15th to the 21st of February. [REDACTED] said there was no truth to such a statement and a copy of the newspaper should be sent to Headquarters.

The above is sent for the information of the Charlotte Office.

F B I

Date: 2/11/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)  
(Priority)TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8) TDN

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RM

On 2/9/70, the following information was furnished by [REDACTED] (SF T-16), a highly sensitive source whose identity must be protected by adequate paraphrasing if this information is disseminated outside the Bureau;

On 2/9/70, [REDACTED] of North Carolina, contacted BPP National Headquarters, Berkeley, Calif.

[REDACTED] inquired about [REDACTED], who apparently is still in the North Carolina area. [REDACTED] was advised that [REDACTED] is a renegade and a thief. [REDACTED] was instructed by BPP National Headquarters to proceed a leaflet with a picture of [REDACTED] and to identify him as a renegade who was expelled from the BPP in 1969. National Headquarters instructed [REDACTED] to call [REDACTED] a thief, renegade, viper, snake and anything else appropriate that he can think of.

- ② Bureau
  - 5 - Charlotte (157-6171)
    - (1 - 157-[REDACTED])
    - (1 - 157-[REDACTED])
    - (1 - 157-[REDACTED])
  - 3 - San Francisco
    - (1 - 157-2872) (ORGANIZATION)
    - (1 - 157-[REDACTED])
- RNB/pae  
(10)

REC-116

105-165706-8-40

\* FEB 13 1970

RACIAL JUST. SECT.

Approved: 101 Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

54 FEB 25 1970 Special Agent in Charge

SP 157-2861  
RNB/pae

[redacted] was instructed to also state that [redacted] is "wanted by the people."

BPP National Headquarters advised [redacted] that a [redacted] contacted BPP National Headquarters recently concerning setting up a BPP chapter in Wake Forrest, N.C. [redacted] was instructed to contact [redacted] and advise him that no new BPP chapters are being established at this time. However, BPP National Headquarters indicated that they might be able to use [redacted] and [redacted] was instructed to have [redacted] attend some political education courses (presumably somewhere in N.C.) so that [redacted] can look him over and see if he is competent and can be used.

Charlotte will continue to follow closely the activity of [redacted] in Winston-Salem, N.C., and will determine if [redacted] organization there is a bona fide chapter of the BPP or if it is a National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) established under the guidance of BPP National Headquarters.

Charlotte will also identify [redacted] Wake Forrest, N.C., and will determine if [redacted] is able to establish any kind of an organization at Wake Forrest within the framework of the BPP. If so the Bureau and San Francisco must be kept advised by LHM reporting offices of any such organization, plus addresses and telephone numbers of offices.

SAC, Charlotte (157-6171)

February 5, 1970

Director, FBI (105-165706 sub 8) - 1391 [REDACTED]

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTERS

REC-21

Enclosed herewith are two copies of a Naval Intelligence Service (NIS) Information Report dated 1/26/70 from the USMC, Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, and two copies of a Black Panther Party (BPP) greeting card which was an attachment to the NIS report.

According to information set forth in the enclosed communications, the BPP greeting card was received by an attorney in Jacksonville, North Carolina, after it was mailed from a Post Office Box registered to the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) at Greensboro, North Carolina. Apparently the note, which was signed "Doc," was inscribed on the greeting card.

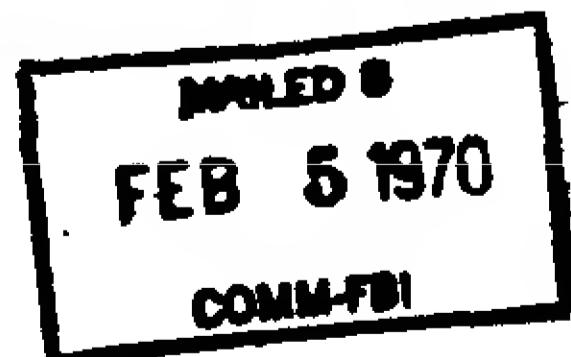
You are instructed to conduct appropriate investigation in an effort to ascertain the circumstances under which BPP greeting cards are being mailed from the OEO and to further identify "Doc" and the Black Angels, which was also inscribed on this card. Positive information developed should be submitted in the form of a letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination.

As your office is aware, a subject by the name of [REDACTED] also known as [REDACTED] was previously active in the Greensboro area in connection with BPP matters. [REDACTED] as the operator of the [REDACTED] a store that sells black publications,

Enclosures - 4

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

GES:ekw (4)  
ekw



SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

59 FEB 19 1970

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

Letter to SAC, Charlotte  
RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
105-165706 sub 8

would logically be in possession of greeting cards similar to the one enclosed herewith. No information has been previously received, however, which would indicate that [redacted] is employed by the OEO or has access to the OEO Post Office Box at Greensboro. You should not overlook the possibility [redacted] is the individual responsible for mailing the enclosed BPP greeting card.

NOTE:

USMC furnished information that an unknown person using an OEO Post Office Box has mailed at least one BPP greeting card in North Carolina. Instructions for Charlotte set forth since this information is of interest to OEO and the possibility of a Federal violation exists.

XXXXXX  
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- For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

SAC, Charlotte (157-6171)

1/19/70

REC-28 Director, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)-138

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTERS

Reurairtel and LHM dated 1/8/70.

In referenced airtel you requested advice as to whether or not the poem set forth in referenced LHM was known by the Bureau to have previously been sent to other law enforcement agencies. No such information is available at the Bureau.

For your information, the text of the poem indicates that it was probably composed no earlier than December, 1969. The reference contained therein to a Panther having been shot in bed appears to relate to the shooting of Fred Hampton, the Panther member who was slain in December, 1969, in Chicago, Illinois. Another reference in the poem is to the 28 Panthers who were murdered by the "pigs." This figure "28" was publicized in December, 1969, by Charles Garry, the well-publicized attorney for the Black Panther Party.

2 - Newark (100-49194)

GES:aeb  
(6) *b*

MAILED 5

JAN 20 1970

COMM-FBI

Leach \_\_\_\_\_  
Gitter \_\_\_\_\_  
Wade \_\_\_\_\_  
Hastings \_\_\_\_\_  
Allan \_\_\_\_\_  
Brad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Role \_\_\_\_\_  
Ken \_\_\_\_\_  
Dillan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Coyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Stacy \_\_\_\_\_

58 FEB 13 1970

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

F B I

Date: 1/8/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)  
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)  
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
 RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 and for Newark 2 copies of an LHM captioned as above.

Contact with [REDACTED] was  
by SA [REDACTED]

LEADS:

The Bureau is requested to advise if the poem in the enclosed LHM has been sent to other law enforcement agencies.

NEWARKAT PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

[REDACTED] Newark is requested to search indices re [REDACTED] and contact appropriate informants to determine if a Black Panther Party group exists at Princeton, New Jersey, and possibly sender of the letter as set forth in the LHM.

ENCLOSURE

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)
- 2 - Newark (100-49194) (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 3 - Charlotte  
(2 - 157-6171)  
(1 - 157- [REDACTED])

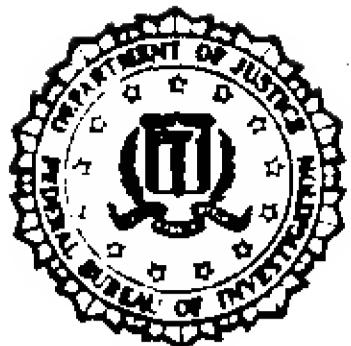
REC-28

105-165706-8-138

THG:rep.  
(7)

JAN 10 1970

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M. Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina  
January 8, 1970

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

On January 7, 1970, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that the following poem, "An Ode to the Panthers," was received on January 7, 1970, by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that he had no explanation for the fact [REDACTED] received this letter

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

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105-165106-8-138

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A MEMORIAL TO THE  
VENTY EIGHT PANTHERS  
WHO WERE MURDERED BY THE "PIGS".

AN ODE TO THE PANTHERS:

BY:

EDDIE EDWARD

HIS FUR IS SLEEK AND BLACK, HIS FANG IS SHARP  
AND POTENT, HE IS FAST, HIS SENSE OF SMELL IS KEEN.  
HE IS A SMART BLACK ANIMAL AND HE CAN BE MEAN.  
OF THIS THERE IS AN ANSWER, EVERYONE KNOWS THE "PIGS"  
MADE HIM A PANTHER.

2

HE LOVE HIS FREEDOM FIRST, FOR IT HE WILL DIE, NO OTHER  
ANIMAL CAN SCARE HIM FOR HE ISN'T THE LEAST BIT SHY,  
LIKE ANY ANIMAL IN THE JUNGLE HE FIGHT TO THE LAST,  
AND ONLY GIVE UP, WITH HIS LAST DYING GASP.

3

NOW MANY ANIMALS HAVE BEEN KILLED BY HUNTERS WHO DISCRIMINATE,  
WHO KILL WITH LUST BECAUSE THEY MUST, IN ORDER TO ILLUMINATE.  
MANY PANTHERS HAVE BEEN KILLED SOME IN BED SHOT IN THE HEAD,  
BY PIGS WHO WAS JEALOUS, OBSCENE, AND AFRAID.

4

IF THE "PIGS" KEEP KILLING PANTHERS FOR NO REASON AT ALL,  
THEN THIS WORLD ISN'T FIT FOR LIVING, NO NOT EVEN FOR A HOG.  
IF WE MUST DIE TO BE FREE, AND MURDERED INeed,  
THEIR LEST SEND EVERY BASTARD "PIG" ON A HEAD.

5

IN THIS LAND OF OURS LET EVERY "PIG" TAKE NOTE, IF WE DONT GET JUSTICE  
THEN WE HAVE AN ANTIDOTE, WE ONLY WANT WHAT BELONG TO US, FOR WE WILL NOT  
DIE AGAIN IN VAIN, FOR IF WE HAVE TO, WE WILL SEND LOTS OF "PIGS" TO HELL  
WITHOUT THEIR BRAINS.

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-7064) (P)

SUBJECT: FLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
DOCUMENT "REVOLUTION AND  
EDUCATION"  
BY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
ARL - SMITH ACT OF 1940  
(CC: SAN FRANCISCO)

DATE: 1/29/70

Re Boston letter to San Francisco, dated 11/25/69  
and Bureau letter to San Francisco, dated 1/10/70.

Enclosed for San Francisco and Denver is one copy each of photograph of [REDACTED]

It is the practice of the Selective Service System of North Carolina not to make Selective Service records or the information therein available to the FBI except in those cases wherein Selective Service violations are present.

It should be noted that the enclosed photographs to San Francisco and Denver are copies of a picture which appeared in the 1964 annual of the West Charlotte, N. C., High School.

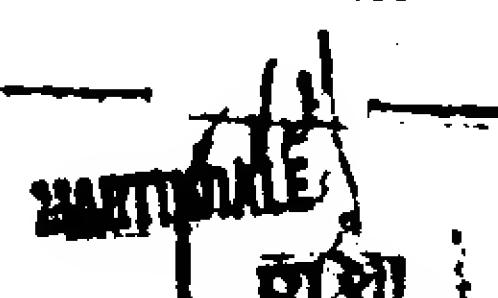
On 1/21/70 [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] has no handwriting of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that he would attempt through his sources to obtain known handwriting of [REDACTED]

- SI-111  
(2) - Bureau  
2 - San Francisco (Enc. 1) (157-1204)  
2 - Denver (Enc. 1) (157-403)  
2 - Charlotte

REC-11 105-165706-8-137

17 FEB 2 1970



RACIAL JUSTICE



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CE 157-7064

LEAD:

CHARLOTTE:

AT CHARLOTTE, N. C.

Will maintain contact with the [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] in an effort to obtain known handwriting  
will be forwarded to the FBI Laboratory for handwriting  
comparisons.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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SAC, Charlotte (157-6171)

February 5, 1970

Director, FBI (105-165706 sub 8)-/34

PRC:124

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTERS

1 - Charlotte Field Guidance  
Folder  
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

Reurlet dated 1/27/70 entitled "Black Panther Party, Racial Matters" which set forth leads concerning numerous long-distance toll calls.

The Bureau recognizes the need to obtain current information concerning [REDACTED] of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Connecticut who now resides at the residence of [REDACTED] Greensboro, North Carolina, whose telephone was involved in the toll calls which prompted relet. However, it is not felt that credit and criminal checks and informant contacts are warranted unless a review of office indices concerning subscriber to the telephone number in question produces positive information making such checks advisable. Therefore, recipient offices of relet should confine their coverage of the leads in this matter to ascertaining the subscribers to the indicated telephone numbers and a review of office indices provided no additional inquiries appear to be necessary following these checks.

In view of the ever-increasing demands being made upon Bureau Agents investigating racial matters, general leads as set forth in relet should be discontinued in the absence of specific information which would support the necessity for such investigation. Your office should not interpret the above instructions to mean that requests for investigation by other divisions should be restricted when information in your possession justifies the requested investigation. However, every effort should be made to

MAILED 2  
FEB 5 - 1970  
COMM-FBI  
1 - Birmingham  
1 - Jacksonville  
1 - New York City (100-161993)  
1 - San Francisco

GES:ekw (9)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

55 FEB 17 1970

TYPER UNIT

Letter to SAC, Charlotte  
RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
105-165706 sub 8

restrict "shotgun" type leads, particularly when several offices are involved and such leads show little promise for positive results.

NOTE: The Charlotte Division in its efforts to thoroughly investigate the BPP has recently been setting out "shotgun" type leads. Above instructions set forth since it is felt that such leads overtax the resources of recipient offices in areas where time can be more positively utilized.

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## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

DATE: 1/7/70

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE  
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-16).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

2 - BUREAU

2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

1 - SF

1- (157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

112-3169

[REDACTED] says that their papers are being tampered with. They are soaked with water, sent to other cities, and not given to them when they are at the airport. He says they have a lawyer working on it but she is on vacation now. They also talked about selling newspapers on the campus's in the Winston-Salem area.

REC-15

105-165706-8-133

5 JAN 28 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 SUB-I) DATE: 1/23/70

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RM

Re Albany letter to Bureau dated 1/16/70 enclosing

Albany, N. Y.

It is noted that the [REDACTED] furnished by Albany failed to reflect [REDACTED] within the Charlotte Division but listed only fact that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] at Albany, New York. 11

For information of Albany Division, Jacksonville and Sneads Ferry, N. C., is in the immediate vicinity of Camp Lejeune, N. C., a major Marine Corps installation.

No further action can be taken by Charlotte at this time until further data is received from Albany as to possible identities of the individuals [REDACTED]

1 2-Bureau (RM)  
2-Albany (RM)  
2-Charlotte  
THG:gjc  
(6)

REC-15

105-165706-8-132

8 JAN 23 1970

RICK JHT. SECT.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



5010-108-01

F B I

Date: 12/23/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)  
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)  
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - RAIDS  
 RACIAL MATTERS - SEDITIOUS CONSPIRACY  
 SMITH ACT OF 1940

Re Bureau airtel to SAC, Albany, and others, dated 12/4/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies of LHM captioned as above.

It is noted that copies of the legal documents filed in USDC for the Western District of North Carolina, Charlotte, N. C., mentioned in the enclosed LHM have been furnished the Bureau and the Department in their entirety. The suit has not been set for trial as of 12/23/69.

Copy to FBI, C. A.  
 by routing slip for  
 info  action  
 date 12/23/69  
 by 46746

105-165706-8-13

DEC 30 1969

2 - Bureau (Encls. 8)  
 2 - Charlotte

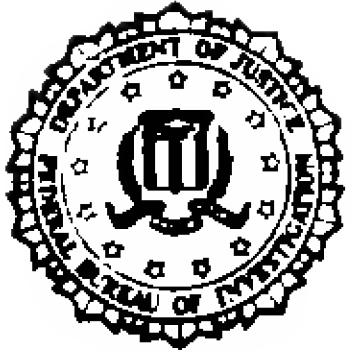
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 (4)

58 JAN 30 1970

*RECORDED*  
*R. J. H.*  
*SACIAL UNL. SECT.*

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Special Agent in Charge

110



## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina  
December 23, 1969

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - RAIDS**  
**RACIAL MATTERS - SEDITIOUS CONSPIRACY**  
**SMITH ACT OF 1940**

On December 23, 1969,

[REDACTED] Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Division, United States Internal Revenue Service, 316 East Morehead Street, Charlotte, North Carolina, advised that on May 27, 1969, the Black Panther Party (BPP) Headquarters, 316 South Turner Street, Charlotte, North Carolina, was entered in an attempt to arrest JAMES CURTIS COVINGTON, JR., on federal charges of falsifying documents and obtaining a firearm. The raiding party consisted of twelve law enforcement officers: himself and two others from the Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Division; eight Charlotte city officers; and two Mecklenburg County officers. At the time they entered the house at 316 South Turner Street, he believed there to be nine men and two women present. As he recalled, present were JAMES CURTIS COVINGTON, TONY ALFORD, VERONICA HAGENS, and GEORGE BENJAMIN HAIRSTON. MICHAEL LANEY came in while the raid was in progress. Seized during the raid were three 7 millimeter German Mouser rifles, three .22 caliber rifles, one Japanese-made 6.5 millimeter rifle, and one 12 gauge Remington shotgun. COVINGTON was arrested on the federal warrant, and MICHAEL LANEY was arrested for interfering with the arrest of COVINGTON and threatening Special Agent STAN NOEL of the Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Division.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

- 131

**ENCLOSURE**

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - RAIDS

[REDACTED] Charlotte, North Carolina, Police Department, Intelligence Unit, advised his reason for participating in the raid on the Panther Headquarters at 316 South Turner Street was due to the fact the Charlotte Police Department had a Conspiracy to Commit Armed Robbery Warrant outstanding for JEROME CLIFTON JOHNSON at the time the raid was conducted on May 27, 1969.

It is noted that on June 6, 1969, in the United States District Court for the Western District of North Carolina, Charlotte, North Carolina, a civil suit was filed. Plaintiffs were as follows:

BEN CHAVIS and wife JACQUELINE CHAVIS,  
JAMES COVINGTON, JR., THOMAS COLEMAN,  
VERONICA HAGENS, MRS. MENTZIE JOHNSON,  
CORDELL KENNEDY, MARY SMITH, ART  
LYNCH, JR., CORNELIUS WASHINGTON,

and

HUGH G. CASEY, JR., next friend of TONY ALFORD,  
ANGEIA COLEMAN, JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS, G. BENJAMIN  
HAIRSTON, MICHAEL LANEY, RUDOLPH NASH, and  
TALVIN JOHNSON

Defendants were as follows:

J. C. GOODMAN, JR., Chief, and L. H. OWENS,  
ANGEL JOSEPH EUROPA, KENNETH R. TEMPLE,  
EARL F. FESPERMAN, H. M. WHITE, and JOHN  
DUE, members of the Charlotte, North Carolina,  
Police Department,

L. A. KELLY, JR., Chief, and E. O. BROOKS,  
L. L. DAVIS, and RICHARD ROE, members of  
the Mecklenburg County, North Carolina,  
Police Department,

LYNWOOD HARTON, Special Agent, North Carolina  
State Bureau of Investigation,

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - RAIDS

STANLEY NOEL, Special Agent, Alcohol,  
Tobacco, and Firearms Division, United  
States Treasury Department,

DEAN PARMANN, Special Agent, Federal Bureau  
of Investigation, United States Department  
of Justice, and JOHN KILROY

As a portion of the Complaint and Motion For  
Temporary Restraining Order and Motion For Preliminary  
Injunction, copies of which are in possession of the United  
States Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of  
Investigation, Washington, D. C., it sets forth that  
plaintiffs COVINGTON, HAIRSTON, KENNEDY, LYNCH, NASH, SMITH,  
HAGENS, and DOUGLAS were present at the "People's House,"  
May 27, 1969, with plaintiffs ALFORD and LANEY arriving  
while the raid was in progress. However, the suit sets  
forth that some thirty or forty law enforcement officers  
were present during the raid.

A portion of the above information is included in  
memorandum at Charlotte, North Carolina, dated July 24, 1969,  
captioned "BLACK PANTHER PARTY, CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA,  
RACIAL MATTERS."

A characterization of the Black Panther Party (BPP)  
is attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED DURING ALL  
ENCOUNTERS WITH MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES OF THE BLACK PANTHER  
PARTY AS THEY ARE REPORTEDLY ATTEMPTING TO PREARRANGE THE  
LOCATION OF INTERVIEWS IN ORDER TO KILL FBI AGENTS. DUE TO  
THEIR PROVEN RECORD OF ATTEMPTS TO KILL POLICE OFFICERS, ALL  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES ARE CONSIDERED  
ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

### BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life patterns and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 20 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service" states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in the revolutionary struggle and oppression of the black people. Negroes of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the pigs who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968 contains an editorial by the Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY which ends with the following:

"Black men, Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere. Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "We do not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

F B I

Date: 1/8/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

Via \_\_\_\_\_

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)  
 FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861) (P)  
 RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
 CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
 RM - BPP

The following information was furnished by  
 (SF T-16) a highly confidential source on  
 1/7/70.

An individual named [REDACTED] from Greensboro, North Carolina contacted BPP Headquarters in Berkeley, California, talking to one of the officials, namely [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] said that he was working with [REDACTED] (phonetic) and another [REDACTED] individual named [REDACTED], last name not given. (It will be noted that in the past an individual from New Haven, named [REDACTED] had been in the North Carolina area.) [REDACTED] said that he had come down to Greensboro from the New Haven Chapter. [REDACTED] said at this time [REDACTED] was in New York to attend the funeral of his sister. In the absence of [REDACTED] said he wanted permission to teach the political education class.

[REDACTED] wanted to know if this class was being held under the NCCF or the BPP, and was informed it was under the NCCF. In that case [REDACTED] said that it would be alright for [REDACTED] to teach the class.

[REDACTED] furnished his Greensboro telephone number as 919- [REDACTED] and further advised that his telephone number in Connecticut had been 203- [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] said that this telephone was still in operation and it was for his

- ② - Bureau (105-165706-Sub 8)
- 3 - Charlotte (157-6171)
- 2 - New Haven (100-19186)
- 2 - San Francisco

WAC:ajz  
(9)

REC-5

EX-111

S 1 JAN 10 1970

8040

Approved:

*[Signature]*

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

*M RACIAL AFF. SECT.*

57 JAN 27 1970

Special Agent in Charge

SF 157-2861  
WAC:ajz

home in Connecticut.

New Haven is requested to furnish Charlotte with any pertinent information it has in its possession concerning [redacted]

The above material is being furnished to the Charlotte Office to indicate the renewed activity on the part of the BPP representation in North Carolina.

F B I

Date: 12/18/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861) SACSUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RM - BPPThe following information was furnished by  
(SF T-22), a highly confidential source, on  
12/17/69:

A man spelling his name as [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] (source was not clear as to the exact spelling of the name) from Greensboro, N.C., contacted [REDACTED] at BPP Newspaper Headquarters in San Francisco, California, on 12/17/69. Source said [REDACTED] made two contacts. On the first occasion, he ordered 300 newspapers, 15 record albums, and ten boxes of Christmas cards.

[REDACTED] who was working in the newspaper office told [REDACTED] that LARRY LITTLE had just departed from Headquarters to Greensboro. [REDACTED] said he did not know LARRY LITTLE. [REDACTED] then mentioned to [REDACTED] that [REDACTED] had requested that he call and advise Headquarters there would be only "three of them" in N.C. over Christmas, as the rest were going home. (It would appear that this group was from college.)

- 2 - Bureau
  - 4 - Charlotte (157-6171)
  - 4 - San Francisco
    - (1 - [REDACTED])
    - (1 - [REDACTED])
    - (1 - 157-1581) (PUBLICATIONS)
- WAC/pae  
(10)

REC-72

105-165706-8-129

a DEC 20 1969

59 JAN 20 1970 Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

SF 157-2861  
WAC/pae

In a subsequent call, [REDACTED] talked to [REDACTED] at the newspaper, ordering 300 papers for OSCAR WATSON, also in Greensboro. [REDACTED] gave his address and telephone number as [REDACTED] Greensboro, telephone no. 919- [REDACTED]

The above material is being furnished to Charlotte for its information.

F B I

Date: 12/31/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) (Sub 8)  
FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

Q BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RM-BPP

Re Los Angeles letter to Charlotte, 12/15/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies and Los Angeles  
2 copies of an LHM captioned, [REDACTED] RM-BPP."

Referenced Los Angeles letter set forth that  
[REDACTED] of the  
Central Office of the Los Angeles BPP, 4115 S. Central Ave.,  
Los Angeles, Calif. Among the calls listed was one on  
10/6/69, to Fayetteville, N. C., telephone 919-[REDACTED]

CE T-1 is [REDACTED]

CE T-2 is [REDACTED] and furnished [REDACTED]  
information to SA [REDACTED] SA [REDACTED] conducted  
the investigation at Fayetteville, N. C.

A copy of this LHM has been furnished to 111th MIG,  
Fayetteville, N. C., for their information. In view of the  
fact [REDACTED] is a member of the U. S. Army, no further  
investigation will be conducted concerning him.

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR  
ADD. DISSEMINATION.

ENCLOSURE

- (2) - Bureau (Encs. 8) (RM)  
2 - Los Angeles (Encs. 2)  
1 - Charlotte  
THG:jat REC'D: 12-12-69  
ACB: 12-12-69  
(5) 12-12-69  
12-12-69

12-12-69

1100 Austin 80650

MAR 1969

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina  
December 31, 1969

[REDACTED]  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Information was received from CE T-1 that a call was made from the central office of the Los Angeles Black Panther party, 4115 South Central Avenue, Los Angeles, California, telephone number 235-4127, on October 6, 1969, to Fayetteville, North Carolina, telephone 919-[REDACTED].

A check of the current issue of the Fayetteville criss cross directory on December 24, 1969, reflects telephone number [REDACTED] is listed to [REDACTED]. The 1969 issue of the Fayetteville City Directory has a listing for a [REDACTED] residing [REDACTED] Fayetteville, [REDACTED] Fayetteville, who is employed by the [REDACTED] Fayetteville.

On December 24, 1969, [REDACTED] Post Locator, Fort Bragg, North Carolina, advised the current personnel roster contains the name of [REDACTED]

assigned to [REDACTED]

On December 24, 1969, [REDACTED] Fayetteville advised her files contain the following relating

[REDACTED]

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS neither recommendations NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

ENCLOSURE

100-1657

126

RE: WALLACE ADAWAY

[REDACTED] 111th Military Intelligence Group, Fayetteville, advised the name of [REDACTED] is unfamiliar to him as being associated with the Black Panther Party in the Fort Bragg-Fayetteville area and his files do not contain either name.

[REDACTED] On December 24, 1969, CE T-2 advised the name of [REDACTED] is unfamiliar to him as being engaged in any racial demonstration or connected with any black organization in the Fayetteville area.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by ROSEY COOPER WALTER, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years, on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther" which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968 contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education GEORGE MASON MURRAY which ends with the following:

"Black man! Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite. Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "... we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO TSE-TUNG of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Charlotte, North Carolina  
December 31, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Title [REDACTED]

Character RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Reference Memorandum at Charlotte, North  
Carolina, dated and captioned as  
above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property  
of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside  
your agency.

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

       Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

       Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

- For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:  
105-165706-8-127

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X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
X FOR THIS PAGE X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI    105-165706-8

*Officer:* SAC, SAN FRANCISCO                                  157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE  
RM

DATE: 12/23/69

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-22).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) San Francisco Chapter Headquarters, 1336 & 1336½ Fillmore, San Francisco, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

- 2 - BUREAU
- 2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171)
- 1 - SF
  - 1- (157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE  
12-20-69

[REDACTED] from Winston Salem to UNW for [REDACTED] telling him he sent \$200 via Western Union and that they shouldn't send any more papers for a while because they are way behind.

REC 25 105-165706-8- 126

2 JAN 2 1970

59 JAN 4 1970

169

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

DATE: 12/23/69

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE  
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-22)

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) San Francisco Chapter Headquarters, 1336 & 1336½

Fillmore, San Francisco, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

2 - BUREAU

2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

1 - SF

1 - (157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

12/17/69

[REDACTED] TO DELTA AIRLINES.. [REDACTED] made reservations for 10:20p this date to Winston-Salem, N.C. [REDACTED] is also bringing back [REDACTED] 12 cartons on newspapers.

REC-89

EX-100 105-165706-8-125

7 100 2 100

57 JAN 15 1970 Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

F B I

Date: 12/31/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) (SUB 8)  
*CW/*  
RE: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)  
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RM - BPP

The following information was furnished by  
(SF T-22) (a highly confidential source) on  
12/29/69.

[REDACTED], who has been in the San Francisco Bay area, around Headquarters for a short time before returning to Charlotte Division, contacted Black Panther Party Newspaper Headquarters from Winston - Salem, North Carolina, on 12/29/69. [REDACTED] said that he had sent \$225 in cash to the Black Panther Newspaper, which [REDACTED] acknowledged receiving. [REDACTED] complained that their papers were being delayed, that one box was missing and that two boxes had been ruined by water. [REDACTED] said that he would handle this with the airline because the shipment was insured.

[REDACTED] ordered 3,000 papers for the following week.

① - Bureau  
3 - Charlotte (157-6171)  
3 - San Francisco  
(1 - 157- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 157-1581) (Publications)

EX-14

12 '69

WAC:mba  
(8)

15 JAN 2 1970

RACIAL EXP. SECY.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

59 JAN 14 1970

387

SF 157-2861  
WAC:mba

The above material reflects the continued activity on behalf of the Black Panther Party in the Charlotte Division.

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(2); (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
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- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
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 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

- For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
- The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:  
105-165706-8-123 page 1

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
 X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
 X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
 X FOR THIS PAGE X  
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

TELETYPE SAC CHARLOTTE  
RE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

UPON COMPLETION OF INTERVIEW ADVISE BUREAU BY AIRTEL  
NATURE OF INQUIRY ALONG WITH OTHER MATTERS IN WHICH  
DEPARTMENT INDICATES SPECIAL INTEREST.

NOTE:

The Special Interdivisional Unit of the Department was formed by the Attorney General for the purpose of instituting Federal prosecution against the Black Panther Party and associated groups throughout the United States and any areas where sufficient evidence available to support Federal prosecution. Williamson made the above request at 10:45 a.m., 1/7/70, immediately prior to his departure for [REDACTED] The Department is currently attempting to obtain sufficient evidence to present to a Federal Grand Jury seeking a Smith Act indictment.

[REDACTED]

CODE

January 5, 1970

TELETYPE

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

URGENT

1 -  
1 -

TO SAC CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (105-165706

(1) BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), RACIAL MATTERS,  
SMITH ACT OF 1940

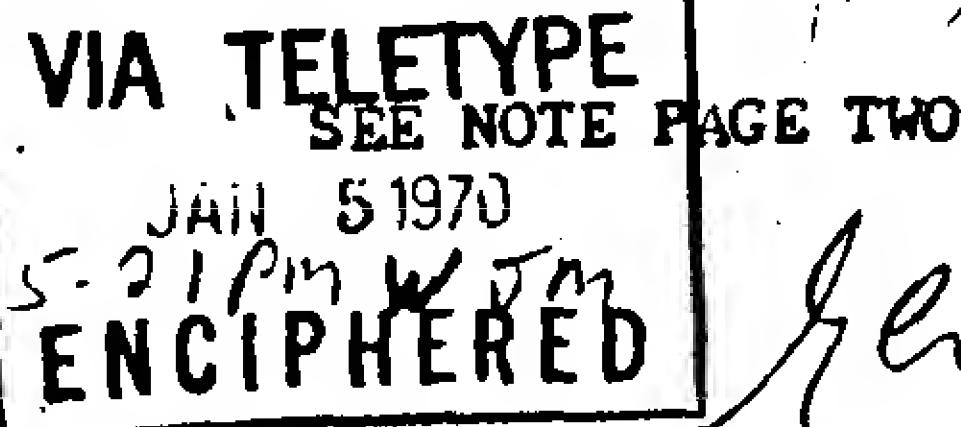
DEPARTMENTAL ATTORNEY LLOYD WILLIAMSON, SPECIAL  
INTERDIVISIONAL UNIT OF THE DEPARTMENT, PLANS TO BE IN  
[REDACTED] ON JANUARY SEVEN AND EIGHT NEXT IF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
IS AVAILABLE AND WILLING TO BE INTERVIEWED, PARTICULARLY  
REGARDING BPP DOCUMENT "REVOLUTION AND EDUCATION" BY ELDRIDGE  
CLEAVER. [REDACTED]

ABOVE UNIT FORMED BY ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR PURPOSE OF  
REF-65105-165706-8-122  
INSTITUTING FEDERAL PROSECUTION AGAINST BPP AND ATTORNEYS  
FOR UNIT ARE TRAVELING AROUND COUNTRY INTERVIEWING INFORMANTS  
TO EVALUATE PROSECUTIVE POTENTIAL UNDER SMITH ACT.

19 JAN 7 1970

ABF:ekw  
(4)



1/11 1970

TELETYPE UNIT

TELETYPE TO SAC, CHARLOTTE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
105-165706

SUTEL BY CLOSE OF BUSINESS TODAY WHETHER INFORMANT  
AVAILABLE AND AGREEABLE TO INTERVIEW WITH DEPARTMENTAL  
ATTORNEY SO LATTER CAN FINALIZE TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS.  
ATTORNEYS WILL CONTACT SAC UPON ARRIVAL AND WILL HANDLE  
INTERVIEW AT TIME AND PLACE CONVENIENT TO INFORMANT INCLUDING  
NIGHT INTERVIEW. UPON COMPLETION OF INTERVIEW, ADVISE BUREAU  
BY AIRTEL NATURE OF INQUIRY ALONG WITH OTHER MATTERS WHICH  
DEPARTMENT INDICATES SPECIAL INTEREST.

NOTE:

Departmental Attorney Williamson advised of above travel morning of 1/5/70. The Department has previously received communications containing information furnished by this informant who has indicated a willingness to testify. The Department is particularly interested in above document since it calls for violent overthrow of the Government.

1 - 6  
1

1-6-70

CODE

TELETYPE

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

URGENT

TO SAC CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (105-165706)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), RACIAL MATTERS, SMITH ACT  
OF NINETEEN FORTY.

REBUTEL JANUARY FIVE LAST AND CHARLOTTE TELEPHONE CALL  
THIS DATE.

DEPARTMENTAL ATTORNEY LLOYD WILLIAMSON WILL ARRIVE  
[REDACTED] NORTH CAROLINA, AT [REDACTED], JANUARY SEVEN  
NEXT ABOARD EASTERN FLIGHT [REDACTED] FROM WASHINGTON,  
D.C. ARRANGE TO MEET WILLIAMSON AND ARRANGE HIS INTERVIEW  
WITH [REDACTED]

UPON COMPLETION OF INTERVIEW ADVISE BUREAU BY AIRTEL  
NATURE OF INQUIRY ALONG WITH OTHER MATTERS IN WHICH  
DEPARTMENT INDICATES SPECIAL INTEREST.

ABF:hls  
(4)

VIA TELETYPE  
JAN 6 1970  
S-57, PM 11 AM  
ENCIPHERED

NOTE: In response to Rebute, Charlotte telephonically advised  
this date that [REDACTED] would be available for interview to  
Departmental Attorney but suggested interview take place in  
rather than [REDACTED] since [REDACTED]  
is more convenient. Charlotte also  
advised [REDACTED] would be in [REDACTED] morning of 1-7-70 and  
available.

REC 67 105-165706-8-121

19 JAN 7 1970

John  
Doe  
Smith  
Jones  
Hanson  
Conrad  
Sullivan  
Tavel  
Mayers  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

157-6170  
TELETYPE UNIT

F B I

Date: 12/17/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) (Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

~~BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)~~  
~~CHARLOTTE DIVISION~~  
RM - BPP

Re San Francisco airtel to Bureau, 12/1/69.

Referenced airtel sets forth information from [REDACTED] (SFT-22), that on 11/26/69, [REDACTED] (LAST NAME NOT GIVEN) telephone number 919-[REDACTED] was in contact with the Black Panther Distribution Office, San Francisco, claiming trouble with the people in Winston-Salem concerning BPP newspapers. During the conversation, [REDACTED] mentioned that another man named [REDACTED] (PHONETIC) "might be there." This was not further explained.

[REDACTED] would undoubtedly be [REDACTED]  
who has previously visited the BPP headquarters and is subject of Charlotte file [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

- 2 - Bureau (RM)  
 3 - San Francisco (2-157-2861)  
 (1-157-[REDACTED])  
 5 - Charlotte (2-157-6171)  
 (1-157-[REDACTED])  
 (2-157-NEW)

THG:jat  
(10)

REC-121

105-165706-8-120

1969

DEC 13 1969

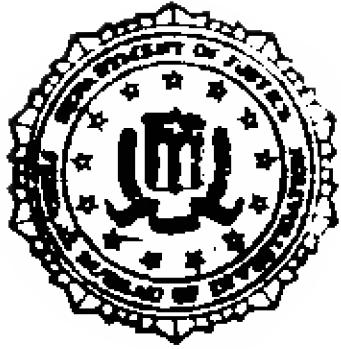
59 JAN 12 1970

Approved: [Signature] Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
CE 157-6171  
(Priority)Charlotte indices negative regarding [REDACTED]  
or [REDACTED]LEADS:SAN FRANCISCOAT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.Will be alert to the arrival of [REDACTED] or  
[REDACTED] at the BPP headquarters.CHARLOTTEAT GREENSBORO, N. C.Will open separate case regarding [REDACTED]  
fully identifying subject and obtaining photograph and be  
alert to his travel to BPP headquarters.  
[REDACTED]



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

December 16, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

[REDACTED]

CONFIDENTIAL

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
DOCUMENT "REVOLUTION AND EDUCATION"  
BY ELDRIE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS; SEDITIOUS CONSPIRACY  
SMITH ACT OF 1940

The following information was furnished by CE T-10  
concerning the pamphlet "Revolution and Education," by  
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER: (u)

[REDACTED]

. (c)

Concerning the use of the information as obtained  
in the pamphlet for the teaching of political education,  
T-10 advised that on July 22, 1969, a Black Panther Party  
retreat in the form of a workshop was held at St. Andrews  
Church, Oakland, California, with approximately 150 individuals  
attending.

[REDACTED]

(u)

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ENCLOSURE A

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"LEFT" OPPORTUNISM - twin brother of revisionism

The Progressive Labor Party, pretending to uphold the Cultural Revolution and the Thought of Mao, has come forth with a series of positions and carried them out in practice, which in fact run counter to all the main lessons of the Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions as well as the struggle for Black Liberation in America. Superficially it seems absurd to contend that a group whose rhetoric sounds so militant and whose practice often involves considerable personal sacrifice on the part of its members and who, in words, oppose the counterrevolutionary revisionist trend in the world revolutionary movement and uphold the world-historic Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, could, itself, become an obstacle to revolution.

The deterioration of the Progressive Labor Party is a great disappointment to all genuine revolutionaries. In the early stages of the Party's development it made a number of significant contributions: it took a principled stand before the House Un-American Committee; it raised anti-imperialist consciousness through its support of the Cuban people's struggle against the United States' ruling class; it supported the Black Liberation movement and contributed to the defeat of pacifist ideas in that struggle and in the anti-war movement; it played a key role in the anti-war movement, through the organization of the May 2 movement which it launched and helped practically and ideologically. Its most important contribution during that period was its separation from and opposition to the revisionist Communist Party and the whole international revisionist trend.

These promising early beginnings have turned into their opposite. Today the leadership of the PLP has completely embraced "left" opportunism, both theoretically and practically. The chief characteristic of "left" opportunism (and why "left" is enclosed in quotes) is the use of revolutionary phraseology and rhetoric in order to oppose in practice the struggles of the people. In other words, because a "left" line undermines the struggle, an objective unity is created with right revisionists who seek to water down the struggle and strip it of its revolutionary soul. In so doing, "left" opportunists serve the imperialists objectively, accomplishing for them within the ranks of the people what open supporters of imperialism are unable to accomplish. Hence while "left" in form they are right in essence. It is for this reason that we refer to it as revisionism's twin brother.

"Left" opportunism manifests itself in a variety of ways and, as Lenin says, crops up in the most unexpected places. It often takes the form of adventurism, or "fighting when you cannot win." (It may be contrasted with conservatism, or "not fighting when you can win.") In the important sphere of revolutionary strategy, it upholds a mistaken view of the necessary stage of struggle that the revolution must go through. "Left" opportunists put forward the slogans for a more advanced stage of struggle in order to oppose struggles at the present stage, attempting thereby to "skip" necessary stages. In contrast "left" opportunism assumes the posture of "all struggle and no alliance," whereas right opportunism upholds "all alliance and no struggle," thereby submerging itself under the leadership of another class and abandoning its independent role. Both trends have no real confidence in the masses and fail to apply the mass line. "Left" opportunism refuses to learn from the people, systematize their ideas, meet their immediate needs and point the way forward. Organizationally it substitutes "serving the organization" for "serving the people."

No party or revolutionary movement can ever be free from these errors. In fact it is the struggle against these errors within the revolutionary ranks and within the mass movement that steals our forces and enables us to advance. As Mao says, without such ideological struggle our ranks will be swamped with liberalism and we will accomplish nothing. Nevertheless, these errors arise in varying degrees of seriousness. When they systematize themselves, and crystallize organizationally into a definite trend, they become problems of a different stripe. For example, when Lenin polemized against "left-wing communism, an infantile disorder," he recognized that this "leftist" disease which cropped up in the newly formed parties of the Third International was a problem of youth, of honest mistakes arising from ignorance, excessive zeal, or underdeveloped theory. The important thing was not that people were making serious errors but that those errors could be corrected through timely and sharp criticism. The rise of Trotskyism presented the opposite problem. Trotskyism began with a series of "left" errors but persisted in them, systematized them, placed itself in opposition to every healthy trend in the international communist movement, opposed socialism wherever it was established and finally became outright agents of the ruling class.

The class roots of these views are in the petit bourgeoisie and the tiny uppercrust of labor aristocrats within the working class. The wealth of U.S. imperialism, the systematic fostering of the ideology of racism, nationalism, sexism, etc., enables the ruling class to make inroads into the ranks

of revolutionaries. The considerable influence of middle class and formerly middle class elements due to the historical peculiarities of the movement in the U.S. means that we must multiply our vigilance in preventing imperialist ideology from dominating the movement of masses and blunting the growing revolutionary upsurge. It also must be borne in mind that since revisionism is clearly the primary danger within revolutionary ranks, it cannot be fought effectively with simply another variety of revisionism masked in "left" phrases.

#### THE VIETNAMESE WAR OF NATIONAL LIBERATION AND REUNIFICATION

##### PLP's Incorrect Theory of Stages

The position of the Progressive Labor Party on the Vietnamese people's struggle for national liberation and reunification is a prime example of these "left" errors. The Chinese have correctly pointed out that the principal contradiction in the world today, the one whose solution is key to solving all other contradictions, the one that is sharpest, is the contradiction between the U.S. imperialist ruling class and the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the world today the sharpest manifestation of that principal contradiction is the struggle being waged by the people of South Vietnam and their brothers in the North against the ruling circles in the United States and their puppets in Saigon.

The February issue of Progressive Labor magazine expresses quite clearly their inability to grasp the principal contradiction of our time and its particularity in the Vietnamese people's war. They advocate a totally confused notion of the stages of struggle and the methods for advancing the struggle. They state:

We also call upon the Vietnamese workers and peasants to fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only way they can determine their destiny.<sup>2</sup> (italics added)

Further:

If the imperialists acted to physically destroy this movement we would support it against imperialism. We would support it by fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only solution.<sup>3</sup>

And again:

This is our attitude in regard to Vietnam. Though we no longer believe that the Vietnamese leadership is fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat, we support the efforts of the people against imperialism and demand the U.S. Get Out Now, regardless of what type of government the Vietnamese wish to set up.<sup>4</sup>

PLP has advanced a clever combination of false ideology and tricknology. The trick is to suggest that the Vietnamese have abandoned some earlier goal to fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat when in fact they never put forward that formulation as their immediate goal. The second trick is to proclaim "support" but to qualify that support by making it contingent on "fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat." If the dictatorship of the proletariat is not the correct goal at this stage, as we will show, then such "support" comes to nothing but pseudorevolutionary phrasemongering which undermines the struggle and throws confusion into our ranks.

We maintain that Mao's Thought represents the highest expression of Marxism-Leninism in our era. Why do we say that? For one thing, it was Mao and the Chinese Communist Party that solved the problem of how to conduct revolution in a colonial and semi-colonial country, and how to link that revolution up with the socialist revolution. The result was the liberation of one fourth of mankind from feudalism and imperialism and the creation of a body of theory to guide the struggles of other oppressed peoples. Mao pointed out that the revolution is divided into two closely related but separate stages. The two stages are the now-democratic stage and the socialist stage. The first stage establishes the people's democratic dictatorship and the second establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is impossible to reach the socialist stage

<sup>1)</sup> content footnote. See the writings of Lenin and Stalin, especially the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by Stalin and the Central

without first reaching the new-democratic state; and the more thoroughgoing the new-democratic revolution and the more firmly established the leadership of the proletariat in this first stage, the easier will be the transition to socialism. In this way the minimum and maximum program of the Chinese Communist Party forms an indissoluble unity. The theory of the new-democratic revolution maintains that it is possible for the proletariat to lead a revolution of all patriotic classes against imperialism and feudalism. The main force of the revolution is the peasant masses and the workers relying on people's war. The theory of "support" for the Vietnamese thru the dictatorship of the proletariat as the "only way" and the only solution is a theory of no support at all.

The precedent for this dangerous "theory" may be found in the activities of a small group of Chinese Trotskyites and other "leftists" in China. During the period of the War of Resistance against Japan, they opposed "unity and struggle" with Chang Kai Shek as "class collaboration." During the Third Revolutionary Civil War immediately after the Chinese had blown away the Japanese imperialists, the Trotskyites raised the banner of the "dictatorship of the Proletariat" and opposed the new-democratic state. Mao recognized the danger early and answered the question head-on:

If the capitalist road of bourgeois dictatorship is out of the question, then is it possible to take the socialist road of proletariat dictatorship? No, that is not possible either.

Without a doubt, the present revolution is the first stop, which will develop into the second step, that of socialism, at a later date... Having determined on their policy, they (the bourgeois reactionaries) have lost no time in hiring some "metaphysicsmongers" plus a few Trotskyites who, brandishing their pens like lancs, are tilting in all directions and creating bedlam. Hence the whole bag of tricks for deceiving those who do not know what is going on in the world around them... The "theory of a single revolution" is simply a theory of no revolution at all, and that is the heart of the matter.<sup>5</sup>

It is no wonder that Mao regarded Trotsky as a "criminal renegade."

The Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions have certain similarities and certain differences. We do not claim to be experts on the subject but certain facts should be obvious to the leaders of the PLP. What is the situation in Vietnam? The country is divided. The country is experiencing a war of national liberation in one half. The people are totally mobilized and totally united behind their leadership in the waging of people's war. The everyday experiences of the people produce martyrs and heroes in a fashion that is not paralleled in peaceful times. The imperialists in their mad desire to commit genocide on a people produce the opposite. A national cleansing takes place in which the cadre and people are steeled. It can truly be said that the Vietnamese are today waging a war and winning it against odds that have never before been faced by a people. Not even in the base areas of China before final victory had the social relations been as advanced as in North Vietnam. The reunification of all of Vietnam is bound to be decisively influenced by the construction of socialism in the north. At the same time, it would be insane for the Vietnamese not to take into account the differences in the north and south which imperialist occupation has wrought and not proceed in a step by step way to correctly handle those contradictions among the people. To argue for reunification strictly from the program of socialist construction in the north and not on the basis of equality and learning from common experience, would be objectively to prevent the NLF from uniting all patriotic classes against U.S. imperialism and would spell the defeat of people's war.

The NLF, for its part, is a broad, national, democratic coalition. The main force with the NLF is the People's Revolutionary Party (PRP) which works

2) "Black Liberation Program" Progressive Labor (February, 1969), p. 19.

3) Ibid., p. 18.

4) Ibid., p. 19.

5) "On New Democracy," Mao Tso Tung, Selected Works II, p. 358-9.

very closely with its counterpart in the north, the Lao Dong or Worker's Party. The NLF has put forth its goals quite clearly on numerous occasions, the most recent of which was on November 3, 1968. To repeat these here honoring the request of Mme. Nguyen Thi Binh, deputy head of the NLF delegation in Paris, to "make these positions known to the people of the United States," and as an expression of our international solidarity with the Vietnamese.

1. South Vietnam is absolutely determined to struggle for the achievement of its sacred rights of independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, progress and the country's unification.
2. American imperialism must end the war of aggression and withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops and all war material from South Vietnam and liquidate the military bases.
3. South Vietnam's internal affairs must be settled by the South Vietnamese peoples themselves without foreign interference.
4. The question of reunification must be settled gradually by the Vietnamese people in both parts of the country in a peaceful manner, by means of consultations and agreements, without foreign interference.
5. South Vietnam will pursue a foreign policy of peace and neutrality. It will not conclude military alliances with foreign countries and will establish friendly relations with all states in conformity with the principles of peaceful coexistence.<sup>6</sup>

It should be noted that the PLP has not yet published these principles and has instead waged a slanderous attack against them, distorting them when possible and opposing what is correct in them.

Any attempt to solve the problems of Vietnam at this stage of the struggle by the "method of socialist revolution" is bound to drive a wedge between the working class and its allies thereby undermining the struggle and guaranteeing the defeat of the revolutionary forces. It is this consequence, i.e. defeat for the people, and not the identity of the view with classic Trotskyism that must be kept uppermost in our minds. We should also not overlook the fact that PL's "theory of stages" is not original but has a precedent of the most degenerate form of "left" opportunism in the communist movement.

#### PL's scab theory that "all nationalism is reactionary"

The PL leadership, in order to carry out their reactionary line in Vietnam and oppose the Black people's movement have been forced to revise the Marxist-Leninist approach to "nationalism" but yet are parading as supporters of the Thought of Mao. "All nationalism is reactionary" sums up the view of PLP on the subject. As we will see, the denial of the new democratic stage means embracing the ideology of white national chauvinism. It means contempt for the national existence of the Vietnamese people and is a crude attempt at national nihilism. In its most sophisticated form (which is seldom expressed except when PL has their backs to the wall), they argue that "nationalism as an ideology is reactionary" or "the latter loyalty--internationalism--is a fundamental Marxist-Leninist idea which runs exactly counter to nationalism."<sup>7</sup> One really has to marvel at this deep grasp of dialectics. Is not the "set of ideas" called nationalism the opposite of, does it not run exactly counter to internationalism? All that PL's proposition proves is that they have not gone beyond the schoolboy logic of Aristotle. They rest content with formal logic without the slightest understanding of dialectical logic. Nationalism does not float around us as an ideology in the abstract. It always manifests a particular class content as part of a real social process reflecting objective laws and undergoing an evolution. Lenin made this very clear when he stated:

In my writings on the national question, I have already said that an abstract presentation of the question nationalism is of no use at all. A distinction must necessarily be made between the nationalism of an oppressor nation, and that of an oppressed nation.

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Joff Gordon, a PL spokesman at the April SDS national meeting, argued while the PL's line was going down to stunning defeat, that "anyone can quote from the Marxist classics on both sides of the question." No, Mr. Gordon, you can't throw up that kind of a smokescreen so characteristic of the enemy. We won't let you out of our noose! It is not a matter of book worship, or isolated quotes—it is a question of the running thread in all the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao on the national question. Due to the general ignorance on this question it is necessary to resuscitate some of the key ideas as they have been developed through the Marxist classics.

Marx and Engels noticed very early that the national liberation movement in Ireland was a prerequisite to the victory of the working class in England. But to come to this conclusion they had to reverse their previous view:

For a long time I believed that it would be possible to overthrow the Irish regime by working class ascendancy.

I always expressed this point of view in the New York Tribune. Deep study has now convinced me of the opposite.

The English working class will never accomplish anything before it has got rid of Ireland. That is why the Irish question is so important for the social movement in general.<sup>9</sup>

Marx never fully developed the national and colonial question into a systematic theory, largely due to the infancy of imperialism. It remained for Lenin, and Stalin after him, to develop the theory of the national question in the epoch of imperialism. Historically, the rise of nationalism was associated with bourgeois nationalism and was not challenged by nationalism led by any other class. The modern nation was itself a product of the bourgeoisie's need for a homogeneous internal market appropriate to the growing productive forces. The decisive turn came when capitalism developed into imperialism and prevented other nations and peoples from forming nation-states. Even during the time of Lenin's writings all nations were divided into either oppressed colonial nations or oppressing imperialist nations. There was still the possibility that the rising bourgeoisie in the oppressed nations could lead the national liberation struggle. It had still not been proven that the proletariat, and the proletariat alone, could become the leading class in alliance with the others in the oppressed nation and establish genuine independence from imperialism.

It should not be surprising that the Bolsheviks were, at first, primarily concerned with the categories appropriate to the socialist revolution in the west and the rising national movements of Eastern Europe. But following the October revolution, revolts in the colonial nations began to take on a new form while the revolution in the west, after a brief upsurge, began to temporarily wane. It was Trotsky and not Lenin or Stalin who dogmatically clung to the idea of an imminent socialist revolution in the west and who treacherously staked the existence of the first socialist state on it. Stalin recognized that the "national question had merged with the general question of the emancipation of the colonies."<sup>10</sup> And Lenin found it necessary to transform the vocabulary of revolution in order to reflect the new developments. In order to expose the vacillating bourgeoisie in the oppressed nation, to oppose their program, and to clearly support the people, he stated:

But here objections were raised that if we speak of the bourgeois democratic movement, all distinction between the reformist and the revolutionary movements will be obliterated...we decided that the only correct thing was to take into account and in nearly all cases substitute the term "national-revolutionary" for the term "bourgeois-democratic."

Clearly the general trend reflecting deep objective processes, and not a few isolated quotes, was toward an increasing recognition of the progressive aspects of nationalism and their relation to the socialist revolution. The Chinese Polonaise

6) "From the New Left," Davidson, Guardian, January 11, 1967, p. 7.

7) "Editorial" Progressive Labor (February, 1969), p. 9.

8) V.I. Lenin, "The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomization'", The Awakening of Asia (Progress Publishers), p. 64.

9) Cited by Lenin in Collected Works, Vol. 20, p. 430.

10) V.I. Lenin, "Report of the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions to the 2nd Congress of the Communist International," Collected Works, Vol. 31.

with the Soviets states the matter precisely:

"On the national question the world outlook of the proletarian party is internationalism and not nationalism. In the revolutionary struggle it supports progressive nationalism and opposes reactionary nationalism. It must always draw a clear line of demarcation between itself and bourgeois nationalism, to which it must never fail captive."<sup>11</sup>

The extension of the revolutionary movement to the most oppressed nations and among the most oppressed peoples sharpened Marxist theory on the national question in three ways. At no time will "nationalism" be treated in the abstract as a metaphysical category. (1) It was essential to unite the nation against the foreign imperialism. Mao states:

"Can a communist who is an internationalist, at the same time be a patriot? We hold that he not only can be but must be. The specific content of patriotism is determined by historical conditions. There is the 'patriotism' of the Japanese aggressors and of Hitler, and there is our patriotism. Communists must resolutely oppose the 'patriotism' of the Japanese aggressors and of Hitler... The victory of China and the defeat of the invading imperialists will help the people of other countries. Thus in wars of national liberation, patriotism is applied internationalism."<sup>12</sup> (italics added)

(2) It was also essential to expose the fake "patriotism" and false Nationalism of the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai Shek. The whole point is that the struggle for socialism, representing as it does the real interests of the majority, are the real redeemers of the nation and not the miserable handful of onslavers. It is difficult for Americans to grasp this point because our experience has shown us that those who raise the banner of "patriotism" are invariably the most reactionary forces and raise it to at once deny the black people their homeland and to mobilize the country for imperialist adventures. It is the imperialist education system that mystifies the national question always treating it abstractly, thereby covering up its class nature and seeking to convey the idea that nationalism and internationalism "run directly counter" to one another. PL's formulation has its roots in those bourgeois theories. (3) The third manifestation of the national question arises in connection with the minority nationalities within China. Here the fight against Han chauvinism (the Hans were the majority people) was decisive in winning over the fifty-eight minority nationalities to new-democracy and then to socialism.

Faced with the prospect of total isolation, the PL leadership is forced to make a

...principled concession to nationalism because it is within the framework of a serious fight against imperialism. If not for the anti-imperialist struggle there would be no reason for the concession.<sup>13</sup>

This is real metaphysics mongering! Facts stand one in the face but are totally disregarded. Instead of recognizing that support for the national liberation struggle is itself a matter of principle, PL reduces such "support" to that of a principled concession. Like putting children the leaders of the PLP throw a bone to reality. But this is a bone with no meat on it whatsoever.

It is essential that the membership of PL not fall for this sophist trap. Once the premises of this Trotskyite line are accepted the internal struggle becomes one over tactics and the logic of that struggle leads to further isolation. The criterion of truth is social practice. But social practice based on a false theory sends one deeper into the swamp. The internal pressure to be consistent has led to a repudiation of all nationalism and will ultimately lead to a repudiation of Mao.

#### How the PLP Focuses on "Negotiations" and Soviet "Aid" to Attack the Vietnamese

At the very moment when Laird and Nixon launch new bombing raids and step up the aggression in Vietnam and expose in deeds their phony "peace talks" ploy, PLP stops up its attack on all phases of the peoples struggle in Vietnam. They

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...and it is now time to make our policies  
state in clear No. 11. Challongo:

Everyone knows that liberation and socialism can't  
be negotiated for. EVERYONE KNOWS THAT THE ONLY WAY  
SOCIALISM CAN BE WON IS BY DRIVING OUT THE OPPRESSOR.

And this is exactly what the Vietnamese people were  
doing so well until the revisionists in Moscow and  
Hanoi agreed to sell them out to U.S. imperialism...

It seems that the north Vietnamese leaders, by enter-  
ing the phony negotiations in the first place, are  
bartering away the hard won efforts of revolutionary  
forces on the battlefield.<sup>14</sup>

Despite a few meaningless utterances to the contrary, PL opposes negotiations  
in principle. They argue: all the evils of negotiations: "--negotiations,  
whether in Cambodia or Disneyland are a set back for Peoples War." And again:

Now many good people view the fight over a site as  
bickering instead of the U.S. being viewed as a  
barbarous aggressor; the U.S. cannot be legitimized  
by the Vietnamese.

And once more:

The logic of negotiations must adversely affect the  
morale of all revolutionaries north and south. Once  
again, inasmuch as there is nothing to really nego-  
tiate except the Peoples War in the south, unity  
between north and south must be undermined by the  
call for negotiations.<sup>15</sup>

But some will say: "You are not really being fair. You are quoting what  
you want to quote. The PLP has in fact stated that negotiations is a tactic."  
So we will quote in full this position of PL and see how, in fact, it does not  
affect our charge at all.

Negotiations, like elections, are no more than tactics  
whose validity can be judged only by the standard of  
the strategy for seizing state power from the imperialists  
for the purpose of setting up a workers' dictatorship  
over the imperialists. As an example--in 1949 the Chinese  
Communists engaged in negotiations with the Kuomintang.  
But first the Communists had shattered the Kuomintang army  
and put its remnants to flight, had disintegrated its  
political organization, had isolated the Kuomintang  
from every section of the Chinese population and had  
won the support of all the democratic parties and  
peoples' organizations. As far as the negotiations  
were concerned the communists insisted that the Kuomin-  
tang accept in advance all the communists' terms in  
their entirety and allowed no bargaining. The purpose  
of the negotiations, in Mao's words, was to 'reduce many  
obstacles to our advance into the south and to that take-  
over of the big cities there...'.<sup>16</sup>

PL States that "this is an example of the proper tactical use of  
negotiations."<sup>17</sup> What in fact they do is to choose a given example of negotia-  
tions which they feel will support their slander of the Vietnamese. PL makes it  
sound like this is the ONLY CIRCUMSTANCE under which negotiations is communist  
practico. PL is saying that total military and political hegemony is the pre-  
requisite for negotiations--that negotiations is the icing on the cake. In fact,

11) content footnote

12) Mao Tso Tung, Quotations, p. 175

13) "Black Liberation Program," Progressive Labor (February, 1969), p. 19.

14) "How Low Can You Get?" Progressive Labor (June, 1968), p. 18.

15) Ibid.

16) Progressive Labor (March-April, 1968), p. 10.

17) Editorial, Progressive Labor (Vol. 6, No. 6), February, 1969, p. 7.

18) Ibid.

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the 1949 negotiations was one tactical move along the long road of the Chinese Revolution. The Chinese people, through the steadfast political and military leadership of the Communist Party had come to learn of the real nature of the Chiang Kai-shek, Kuomintang reactionaries. Therefore the CCP transformed the consciousness of the vast majority of the Chinese people into the policy of insisting on 8 terms for the basis of the negotiations. The content of each of those points was to be struglodout. Mao states on that subject: "We should be firm in principle; we should also have all the flexibility permissible and necessary for carrying out our principles."<sup>19</sup>

But was it always the case that each time the Chinese Communist Party entered into negotiations it was under the same conditions and circumstances? Absolutely not. Take for instance the Chungking negotiations in 1945. Mao and the party decided to enter into negotiations with the Kuomintang "in order to make every possible effort for peace and also, in the process of struggling for peace, to show U.S. imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek in their true colors and so help unite and educate the masses of people."<sup>20</sup> In fact Mao and the party were willing "to make such concessions as are necessary and as do not damage the fundamental interests of the people. Without such concessions, we cannot explode the Kuomintang's civil war plot, cannot gain the political initiative, cannot win the sympathy of world public opinion in exchange for legal status of our Party and a state of peace."<sup>21</sup> In fact the concessions were quite large -- 8 liberated areas.<sup>22</sup> Was this a betrayal of People's War? Was this "Bartering away the hard won efforts of revolutionary forces on the battlefield?" No. It was a tactical advance of that war. This is the genius of Mao Tse Tung-- the ability to grasp the dialectical movement in the real world and to know how to resolve those contradictions in favor of the masses. And it is precisely this which is totally absent from the pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering of the PLP leadership. Even while throwing a bone to negotiations as tactics, the PLP proclaims the absolute, static and counter-revolutionary character of negotiations and places it in opposition to people's war! While Mao tells us:

How to give tit-for-tat depends on the situation. Sometimes, not going to negotiations is tit-for-tat; and sometimes, going to negotiations is also tit-for-tat.<sup>23</sup>

It is one thing to recognize that the U.S. seeks to win at the conference table what it loses on the battlefield, to recognize that it uses the talks to spread confusion, demoralization and division within revolutionary ranks, and that the real victories take place in the battlefield. It is quite another thing to totally accept and publicize the imperialists' propaganda on the talks. The U.S. has in no way been "legitimized" by the talks except perhaps in PL's eyes. The morale of the revolutionaries and the worldwide support for the Vietnamese is reaching new heights, while the imperialists, treated by PL as titans who always know exactly what they are doing and who will undoubtedly outsmart the inferior Asians, move from one defeat and disaster to another.

It is true, as PL claims, that the Vietnamese let it be known through Wilfred Burchett that they would exercise "restraint" to give the imperialists no possible fig loaf of an excuse to step up aggressions during the talks. But imperialists being what they are, they went ahead with new provocations. It is important tactically to show clearly again and again that the onus of aggression is on the imperialists thereby helping to win over the vacillating elements and enable more people to grasp the principles at stake. The dialectics of revolution and counter-revolution, complete with advances and retreats, military and political thrusts, are completely foreign to phrase-mongers of the PLP. We know that various tactics, maneuvers, etc. must be subordinated to the overall strategy of people's war and are an inevitable part of the struggle. But it is absolutely not the task of revolutionaries, particularly those in the belly of the beast itself, to arrogantly appoint themselves judges and interpreters of every twist and turn in the struggle of

19) Mao Tse Tung, "Report to the Second Session of the Seventh Central Committee" (Peking: Peoples Publishing House, 1961)

20) "On Peace Negotiations with the Kuomintang," Vol. 4., p. 48  
footnote.

21) Ibid., p. 49.

22) "On Chungking Negotiations," p. 56.

23) Ibid.

a fraternal people. <sup>24</sup> become "left-wing Maoiologists" waiting like a pack of vultures for every possible or imagined error in order to aggrandize themselves by proving that their predictions of calamity and sellout by the Vietnamese are true. The PLP leadership must be hoping to upgrade its image in the communist movement, to scoop the lot, and be catapulted into world leadership by the voracity of its predictions. It is difficult to find another explanation for the outright distortions and lies it has perpetrated in its anti-Vietnam attack. Carl Davidson pointed out in the January 11 edition of the GUARDIAN that the DRV and the NLF had disclaimed the political position of the March, 1968 issue of WAR/PEACE REPORT on which PLP based much of its case. But has PL repudiated its position thereby?--not much of a chance.

The November, 1968 issue of CHALLENGE limited the attack to the North Vietnamese while praising the South Vietnamese's ability to fight. Quick to note the unlikely chance that PL could split the unified will of the Vietnamese, John Corvo wrote in the December CHALLENGE that the NLF were sellouts too. However, the main line of attack has not been to set northerner against southerner, but to place the leadership against the people. Beginning with their notorious scab loafers in the April, 1967 demonstrations against the war in Vietnam which referred to the "shameless backsliding of the Hanoi leaders," they have systematically stopped up the assault on the Vietnamese leadership, particularly Ho Chi Minh. They not only attack his leadership but state outright that he is a U.S. and Soviet "puppet" regime, and that he is being "maintained" in order to facilitate the transformation of Vietnam into a base against China. Hard to believe? We thought so too. But here it is:

The U.S. and the S.U. are trying to convert Vietnam into a giant base for war against China. This is one important reason why they want the Vietnamese to surrender. And why they maintain the Ho Chi Minh leadership.<sup>25</sup>

Since the Chinese are the ultimate object of such an encirclement, what do they say about this "traitor", "puppet", and "sellout" Ho Chi Minh? Apparently the air edition of CHALLENGE has been held up in U.S. Customs, because in the February 21 edition of the PEKING REVIEW Lin Piao says the following:

We are deeply convinced that under the leadership of their great leader President Ho Chi Minh and persevering in protracted peoples' war, the 31 million Vietnamese people will surely drive out all the U.S. aggressors from Vietnam and achieve the great goal of liberating the south, defending the north and proceeding to reunify their motherland.<sup>26</sup>

Considering the threat to China itself, are we to conclude that Lin Piao is a poisonous weed? Mao Tsetung himself signed a letter on December 19, 1968, praising the "leadership of their great leader Ho Chi Minh," stating:

On the occasion of the 8th anniversary of the founding of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, we, on behalf of the Chinese people, the Communist Party of China and the Government of the People's Republic of China, extend the warmest greetings to the people of south Vietnam and the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation who are standing at the forefront of the struggle against U.S. imperialism.<sup>27</sup>

In a single sentence of greetings Mao sums up the main question at issue. The Vietnamese stand in the forefront of the struggle! It is their practice that every day provokes the falsity of the charge of revisionism. The final test of revisionism is not words but deeds. The Indian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) called itself Maoist but was attacked openly by the Chinese as revisionist! Why? For the simple reason that when the peasants of Naxalbari rose up to overthrow their masters, the Indian CP (ML) opposed the masses. The Indian example is not the first time that a party has opposed the struggle of the masses under the guise of "left" phrases.

The Progressive Labor Party has opposed the most important mass demonstrations against the War in Vietnam under one pretext after another. In the April, 1967 demonstrations referred to above, PL boycotted the organizing activities on the west coast, and in San Francisco confined itself to issuing leaflets attacking Hanoi and the march organizers. Its pretext in that struggle was that the slogan "End the War in Vietnam," due to its vagueness, opened the door to nuclear attack by the U.S. as a quick means of ending the war. It is certainly true that the revisionists who organized the march along with others subordinated everything within the "united front," but PL handed the ball over to them and

24. "Editorial," CHALLENGE

25. PEKING REVIEW, February 21, 1969

26. PEKING REVIEW, December 27, 1968

discredited Marxism-Leninism in the eyes of many honest people. The Oakland Stop the Draft Week Demonstrations went a long way toward defeating the open pacifist trend within the movement thereby providing a basis of respect between the Black Liberation struggles and the anti-war struggles. PL took an essentially conservative position in that demonstration refraining from real participation and finally sharply criticizing the action the night before on the grounds that the students movement's main fight was on campus - getting rid of ROTC etc. PL did participate in Stop the Draft Week through the Black Anti-Draft Union. They argued that the pigs might chase the students into the ghetto which was adjacent to the site of demonstrations, thereby provoking a massacre in the black community. Their line was supported by a group from the now defunct Northern California Black Panther Party. It should be noted that these Black Panthers have nothing in common with the Black Panther Party of Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. This little group was a notorious band of cultural nationalists and renegades. Considering PLP's line on "nationalism", this is a curious "alliance" indeed. When the Oakland 7 were acquitted and the announcement was made at the March SDS IC, PLP and many of its supporters sat silently while the rest of the Convention cheered the victory. One final example. On the occasion of the massive and militant Pentagon demonstration, they opposed mass marches resulting in "futile" confrontations to long term base building as if these were necessarily in contradiction. Basebuilding as a strategy was used as a club to beat down an important action. In short, they have proven again and again that they oppose in practice mobilizing broad, militant, united action against imperialism.

How is it that the PLP is able to put forth this pernicious and false line and gain a certain amount of sympathy? There are a number of reasons: First, there is a general worldwide struggle against revisionism led by the Chinese and Mao Tse Tung. The restoration of capitalism in a number of formerly socialist countries, the betrayal of the struggles of the peoples of the world, has outraged many people and has underscored the importance of vigilance in preventing the strengthening and temporary victory of revisionism in the struggle between two roads.. It is somewhat natural that in the struggle against right opportunism that one would be prone to "left" opportunist errors. Second, there is a tendency, which stems from superficial radicalism, radicalism not steeled in the struggle of the masses, to establish one's revolutionary credentials through rhetoric. Third, as we have observed, there is within the imperialist homeland, particularly among those belonging to the white national majority, a powerful disposition toward national chauvinism manifesting itself in arrogance, feelings of superiority, subtle racism, condescension, etc. Fourth, the peculiarities of the American movement--the triumph of dogmatism and revisionism in the U.S. Communist Party, the "generation gap" induced by the repression of the fifties, the slanderous attack by Khrushchev on Stalin and the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as the errors of the Marxist-Leninists--have all bred a distrust for the teachings of the leaders of the worldwide proletarian movement. Despite the new worldwide triumphs of Marxism-Leninism a general ignorance prevails within the U.S. on the most elementary principles of scientific socialism which is only just beginning to be overcome. It is our view that many of the errors of the membership of the PLP fall into the category of infantile leftism, reflecting the newness of their participation in the movement and the sincerity of their convictions, in contrast to the mature neo-Trotskyism of the leadership nurtured over a long period.

But the key to the confusion on a theoretical level has to do with the peculiarities of the world situation. We are faced with an entirely new situation as a result of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. The Chinese party has taken the Russian revisionists to task and exposed them for all the world to see. The Vietnamese party has not seen fit to join in this attack nor have the Vietnamese launched a cultural revolution. It is also true that the Vietnamese in the north have accepted "aid" from the Soviet Union. It is certainly our view that every nation building socialism must undergo a cultural revolution, indeed they will undoubtedly go through a series of cultural revolutions, but it would be idealism in the extreme for us to become grand strategists of everyone else's cultural revolution especially when we have not yet ourselves accomplished the preliminary socialist revolution. The difficulty stems partly, as we have said, from an idealist, ahistorical method of analysis. By judging all events merely from the vantage point of the most advanced developments, i.e., the cultural revolution, all other events seem pale beside it. Why doesn't everyone see what we see? Why have they not done what needs to be done? We have witnessed this error before in the utopian socialism of the 19th. century. But this 'enlightenment' world outlook has gained new vitality because in this instance we are dealing with state power in the hands of the proletariat. Hence it seems as if anything can be accomplished.

Just as PL attributes to the state power of the ruling class super-natural powers to co-opt and turn into its opposite every reform struggle short of socialism (not led by PLP), so too, it attributes to the proletariat supernatural powers once it has established its state power. This simpleminded formulation obscures the struggle between two roads, the capitalist road and the socialist road, which continues during all phases of the struggle for communism. Smashing the state power of the imperialists increases the opportunities of the working class to finally defeat the ruling class a thousand-fold, but it by no means follows that the proletariat can do exactly as it wishes, in total disregard of the mass line.

What is the nub of PL's argument on the "aid" question? They say, "You can't take increasing "aid" from the revisionists and fight revisionism at the same time."<sup>27</sup> They have since gone way beyond this, arguing that Soviet domination of the Vietnamese is a fait accompli. Concealed in this seemingly innocent phrase is rampant national chauvinism. It is certainly true that Soviet "aid" is not genuine "aid". The "aid" the Soviets give is designed to increase their leverage in order to undermine the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese. It is designed to enhance Russian Great Power ambitions vis à vis China and Southeast Asia and it is designed to maintain a facade of support for revolution. Recently the Soviets have expanded contacts with Chang Kai Shek clique in Taiwan, are closely coordinating military and other matters with the Japanese, are directly seeking to occupy Chinese territory, and, in general, are stepping up their campaign to encircle China. But Soviet intentions are one thing and the Vietnamese reaction is quite another. They cannot be equated nor can they be blurred over. The Vietnamese believe they can subordinate "aid" received from abroad to the revolutionary struggle. It ultimately comes down to a question of whether or not it is possible to have unity on any level with the revisionists. The Vietnamese believe you can. The Chinese believe you cannot. We fundamentally agree with the Chinese on this question, but we refuse to arrogate to ourselves the posture of denouncing the Vietnamese on that count. Furthermore we hold that it is a bald-faced lie to say that the Vietnamese are under the domination of the Soviets. PL really treats the question revisionism as if it were some thirteenth century plague. If the body becomes infected, the case is terminal. This attitude shows nothing but contempt for the people. In practice PL ends up counting on a Vietnamese sellout and desperately searching for proof!

Chou En Lai summed up the question excellently so far as we are concerned in a speech delivered at the National Day Celebration given by the Vietnamese ambassador.

On the Vietnamese question, Soviet revisionism has long pursued a policy of sham support and real betrayal. In fact, the peace talks scheme on Vietnam is jointly devised by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. After the invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet revisionism, U.S. imperialism will definitely demand a higher price on the Vietnam question, while Soviet revisionism will only serve U.S. imperialism all the more obsequiously in the latter's scheme of splitting the Vietnam nation and forcibly occupying southern Vietnam. It is high time all those who cherish illusions about Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism woke up!<sup>28</sup>

It was in the same speech that Chou En Lai hailed Ho Chi Minh's great leadership and reaffirmed Chinese support for the Vietnamese revolution. If the leadership of the PLP were really consistent, it would denounce Mao Tse Tung and the Chinese party for permitting Soviet "aid" to pass through Chinese territory. If the "shameful betrayal of the Vietnamese revisionist leaders" was that grave, what does it make Mao who has yet to denounce them? The last refuge of these scoundrels in attempting to cover their real opposition to the Vietnamese is to finally admit "we are doing the Chinese a favor since they must be quiet for

27) Unfortunately the footnote for this citation was lost. In the tedious job of reviewing PL's literature we found an even better statement of their position which we include here: "We believe that revolutionaries must agree on this crucial point: under no circumstances should aid be taken from revisionism. We believe that anyone who takes "aid" from the revisionists will eventually lose their struggle, no matter how heroic the forces involved. We believe this to be a life and death question for the international revolutionary movement."

28) Peking Review, September 6, 1968

diplomatic reason." But Mao and the Chinese are not doubledealing like the leadership of PLP. There are questions of principle at stake here! What is the correct approach to the handling of contradictions among the people, specifically, what is the correct approach to the handling of contradictions between fraternal parties and peoples.

The puny attempts of the PLP to divide the Vietnamese from the Chinese and to divide and confuse the American movement on this question are bound to fail. The most striking example of this took place at the two recent conventions of SDS. At each convention the closing minutes were devoted to chants and cheers. In December, the PLers and their supporters chanted Mao, Mao, Mao Tse Tung, whereas the opposition chanted Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh. Many young revolutionaries whose instincts and understanding had correctly led them to uphold the struggle of the Vietnamese people developed an unnecessarily negative attitude toward Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse Tung as a result. In March it was a whole new story. The PLers, having suffered one defeat after another, left the Convention hall early under the pretext that their buses were late. The remaining delegates passed a resolution in support of the Vietnamese nearly unanimously and then chanted in unison, "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, dare to struggle, dare to win" followed by a second round of chants in unison "Mao, Mao, Mao Tse Tung, dare to struggle, dare to win." An important victory had been won for the unity of the Vietnamese, Chinese, and American peoples, as well as a victory for Marxism-Leninism and Mao's Thought.

192 of the article and the first two pages of the addendum. The addendum is  
full of the same kind of language as the main article, and it is not clear if  
the author has any right to publish it. I would like to see the addendum removed  
from the article and published as a separate document. I also would like to see  
the addendum removed from the journal's website.

As a result, the U.S. and its allies have been able to impose strict rules on the use of weapons of mass destruction.

1940-41 was not until Feb 3<sup>rd</sup> and was accompanied by cold and  
rainy weather. The first 2000 ft. of the slope was covered with snow,  
but the upper 1000 ft. was bare. The snow was about 10 cm.  
deep. The snow line was at 2000 ft. above sea level. The snow line  
was at 2000 ft. above sea level. The snow line was at 2000 ft. above sea level.

1. The first step in the process of creating a new product is to identify a market need or opportunity. This can be done through market research, competitor analysis, and customer feedback.

# WHAT'S WRONG WITH THIS CONFERENCE?

By their practice the Black Panther Party has earned the respect of the entire left. The Panthers demonstrated the necessity of armed self defense to protect the black community. Their ten point program deals not only with the surface and legal manifestations of racism but with the basic oppression and exploitation. The Panthers projected on a national scale that even in the fight for black liberation, politics rather than skin color is primary. This provided the basis for Third-World people to work together and with whites in coalitions based on mutual respect and struggle against the common enemy. Specifically rejected was the subordination of one people to another as in the old civil rights and trade union movements (whites dominating blacks) or the sycophancy and tail-ending of whites in the early black power movement.

Because they measured people by their relationship to oppression rather than by their skin color or rhetoric, the Panthers openly opposed self-seeking Negroes who served the ruling class, even if they wore naturals or used the language of nationalism. The Panthers opposed Black Capitalism, and Negro Democratic Party politicians, just as it opposed the white servants of the ruling class.

The Panthers have led the way in pointing out that ultimately, the liberation struggle of black people was inseparable from that of all people. Without subordination to the conservative consciousness of the white working class, the Panthers have worked toward alliances with whites for destruction of capitalism and the building of a new nonexploitative society.

But the Panthers are not superhuman. Despite their many advances, they are still capable of making mistakes and moving in the wrong direction in response to changing conditions. Muting criticism in the name of support to the Panthers does no service to the Panthers and the black liberation struggle. If there can be no debate and criticism in the left, the result will not be united action, but ossification and ultimately decay. A left which lacks respect for its own ideas and programs and cannot stand internal debate, cannot possibly hope to win the support of the masses. It is within this context of fraternal support that we make our criticism of this conference.

We believe that both the structure and direction of this conference point in an extremely dangerous direction for the left. The so-called "United Front" seems to be turning into an excuse for conservative alliances, a unity based not on common political struggle but artificially constructed by top down control and the exclusion of unpopular left-wing groups from the movement.

People are lectured, like sheep in a class room. Discussion and debate are ruled out. We are supposed to "get down to business" and not ask any questions about what business we are getting down to. We find the conservative, corrupt and discredited Communist Party and its establishment liberal allies elevated to share the platform with the Black Panther Party as the leadership of our movement.

At the same time, left organizations are told that they cannot present their points of view. While millionaire liberal dillitantes like Edward Keating and discredited Communist Party liberals like Herbert Apthekar drone on from the podium, groups in the lobby (including the Independent Socialist Club and the Spartacists) had their literature censored by Panther ideologists and then banned on various excuses. Progressive Labor Party and individuals (fingered by so-called "white radicals") supposedly friendly to PL were banned from attending the conference. This is nothing more than the methodology of red-baiting.

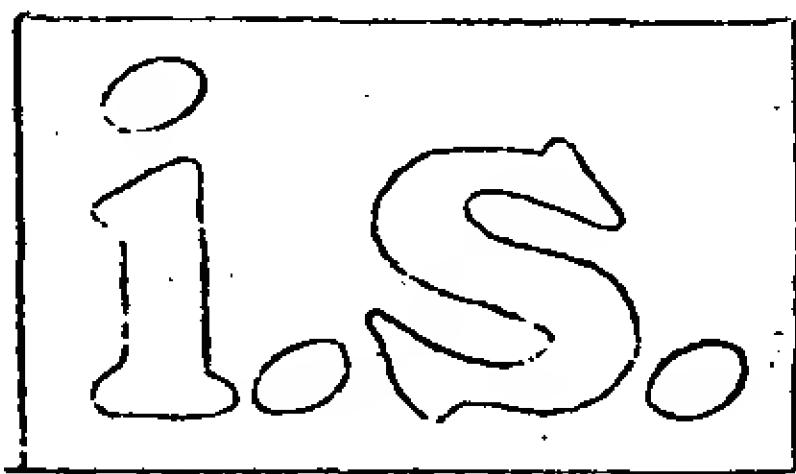
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We fundamentally oppose PL's views on nationalism and most other questions. But PL at least demands that Huey be set free. Willy Brown, who is scheduled to speak from the podium, is a Democratic Party politician who refused to support the demand that Huey be set free. What is the political meaning of a "United Front" which excludes or silences left groups but invites "Democrats, Republicans, the NAACP, black police organizations, etc." If we are to measure groups by their practice, why isn't the demand to free Huey, or the willingness to attack the repression in practice the "test" rather than "anti-fascist" lip-service and rhetoric.

One of the signs of the disastrous direction the movement has taken is the attitude that any criticism of the Panthers is to be interpreted as opposition. Just to make our position explicit, we are supporters of the Panthers. The ISC was one of the first groups to publicly support the Panthers following their arrests in Sacramento in 1966. When the Panthers were still a small Oakland-based organization, we were actively defending and explaining them while most liberals and the left were hostile to armed self defense or were looking to SNCC and Stokely Carmichael as the leadership of the black movement. We continue to support them today, but like yesterday when no one else was around, this does not mean that we hide our differences.

Because of their leadership role, the Panthers have earned respect on the left and repression from the police and courts. In this sense, the Black Panther Party is a vanguard. But there is a difference between providing leadership in the form of ideas and action (the true role of a vanguard), and stifling a movement by insisting that it conform to the direction of one organization.

The best support for the Panthers, the best way to defend them from the vicious repression coming down, is not by merely attending support rallies or organizing others to attend support rallies. Ultimately, the only way to end the repression is to end the social system whose periodic crises produces that repression. This will require continuation of the open debate and discussion that has been one of the healthiest aspects of the new radicalism.



For a full statement of our views on the repression and the conference see the special issue of the IS which the Panthers have banned from the conference.

INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST CLUB  
P. O. BOX 910, BERKELEY.  
July 19, 1969

In addition to the above, the following literature or publications were obtained at this convention:

1. Revolution and Education by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information
2. Mao Tse-Tung on Contradiction  
Foreign Language Press  
Peking
3. Mao Tse-Tung  
The Chinese Language Press  
Foreign Language Press, Peking 1965
4. The Anti Fascist Front, Publication of the National Committees to Combat Fascism in America,  
July 18, 19 & 20, 1969  
No. 1, Vol. 1.
5. HIJCS DE ZAPATA  
Vol. 1, No. 3.  
Published by the Richmond Brown Berets, June
6. Black Studies  
Black Students Union  
San Francisco State College  
1600 Holloway  
San Francisco  
94132
7. Bring The War Home  
SDS
8. U. S. Imperialism and the Fascist Danger
9. A Radical Defense Handbook  
Movement Liberation Front  
4164 17th Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94114
10. Peoples World, Saturday, July 19, 1969
11. Workers World, July 12, 1969
12. The Partisan, Youth Against War & Fascism
13. Movement, August, 1969

14. Bulletin, Ministry of Information, July 5, 1969
15. Berkeley Tribe, July 10-24, 1969
16. The Militant, Friday, July 18, 1969
17. SDS Educational Packet  
Fight Fascism: Bring the War Home
18. The Jewish Radical, January, Vol. 1, No. 1.
19. The Red Guard, Vol. 1, No. 3, June 25, 1969
20. SDS New Left Notes, Vol. 4, No. 23, June 25, 1969
21. The San Jose Maverick, February, 1969
22. The San Jose Maverick, March, 1969
23. The San Jose Maverick, May, 1969
24. Special Issue: United Front Against Fascism
25. BASTA YA!  
Vol. 1, No. 2, P. O. Box 12217, San Francisco, Calif.
26. Rising Up Angry  
July, 1969  
Vol. 1, No. 1
27. The Black Panther, Saturday, July 5, 1969
28. The Black Panther, Saturday, July 12, 1969
29. The Black Panther, Saturday, June 28, 1969
30. The Anti Fascist Front, Publication of the National Committees to Combat Fascism, No. 1, Vol. 1.
31. The Village Voice, February 13, 1969
32. Speak Out For the Release of Plainfield's Black Hostages.

33. Bulletin, Why Wayne Greene?
34. Young Partisans: People's Program
35. What is MLP?
36. San Francisco State Legal Defense Committee
37. Peoples' One-Point Program
38. Jewish Liberation Project
39. Statement of Principals of Berkeley Union of Jewish Students -- National Jewish Organizing Project
40. Statement and Resolution on Anti-Semitism  
Jewish Liberation Project
41. Jewish Liberation Journal
42. A Letter to All Good People, by AMOS KENAN *C.S.A.*
43. Donate to the Free Food Program

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

July 21, 1969

[REDACTED] On the afternoon of July 21, 1969, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] were seen attending the BPP Retreat being held at St.  
Augustine Church, 27th and West Streets, Oakland, California.  
BOBBY SEALE, Chairman of the BPP, was in charge of the workshop,  
assisted by DON COX, and GIRONIMO, both Black Panthers from New  
York. (c) ~~COPY~~

At this meeting DON COX was the speaker and read the message to Sister ERIC MUGGINS from ELDRIDGE COLEMAN, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party. After reading this message from the Black Panther, Black Community News Service dated Saturday, July 5, 1969, Vol. III, No. II, a discussion was held by SEALE, COX and GIRONIMO with all Black Panthers present at the meeting. The Sisters present claimed that the brothers in the BPP are taking advantage of them by being mean to them, beating on them, taking advantage of them sexually, and not treating them as the other half of man. The sisters said they are not the weaker part nor the stronger part, but the other half, and must be treated as such; that the women's place was just as important as the men's, and in some instances more important, because the women had to take care of the children, the husbands, the house and also after work, such as pick up the gun if necessary, and do field work.

BOBBY SEALE made comment instructing the men that this type of action would not be tolerated in the BPP; that the men are to respect the women as the other half of the party, and that the men must teach the sisters how to shoot for defense of the people; that the sisters must teach the men how to do office work such as shorthand and typing; that the organization must be so rigged together that if any brother or sister is off for any reason the work of the party will go on. He stated that they must have a central office in every state, the secretary must be there at all times to receive reports from all branches of the party in the state, to make record of all action and make four copies of all record, sending three copies to the National Headquarters in Oakland, California. After this the National Headquarters would know at all times what is happening in each state and important information can be printed in the BPP newspaper.

SEALE stated that any real important information should be phoned into the National Headquarters and the National Headquarters will be open 24 hours a day.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

July 22, 1969

On July 22, 1969, [REDACTED] were again seen attending the BPP retreat in the form of a workshop at St. Andrews Church, Oakland, California. A message from ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party was read by DON COX from The Black Panther, Black Community News Service, Saturday, July 12, 1969, Vol. III, No. 12. (C)

BOBBY SEALE explained the things that are happening to members of the BPP. He said the more serious things will happen to members of the party; that we know this in the beginning and our job is to defend the people; that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER did the right thing when he left this country because we needed his direction in the manner which he had given the party ever since his departure from the United States, such as the information that we are studying today in this retreat. He stated that the pigs (policemen) know that they are in a war with a well trained group and that they will do anything to destroy us.

In the afternoon another workshop was held on revolution and education written by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information of the BPP, as published in The Black Panther, Black Community News Service, Saturday, June 28, 1969, Vol. III, No. 10.

After DON COX read this article by CLEAVER, COX explained the first article of what is going on in the colleges; that the pigs have no respect for the administration of the colleges or the students; that the students were paying these universities for the education they are receiving and had all rights to be respected as such. He stated it is our job to see that this type of action by the pigs must stop, by any means necessary.

DON COX said the super structure of the system controls man's life through institution of education, Post Office, hospitals and through other sources that they have organized within the government; that these different departments are only to protect the system. COX said they use various means in the economical structure to weaken the people such as price control, wage control, taxation that imposes heavy burden on the people. He stated that the system is a Capitalistic system and this is why we must be revolutionary to overthrow this Capitalistic

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

system, to bring into being a socialist system, and then to the Communist system, so that all people would have the same right, poor people, white people, red people, yellow people, et cetera.

BOB SEALE commented on the overall article and stated that we are the vanguard of the people; that we are the only organization that is capable of liberating the people in this country. He said because of the threat to the system by the party, we have been ruled as a subversive organization by that "racist pig, J. EDGAR HOOVER"; that we must educate the students on campus and the people in the community of just what is going on, and we cannot move without the people with us. SEALE related that the Indians are victims of the fascist pigs, when they destroyed the buffalo. He said the buffalo was the Indians' main source of survival; that they used the buffalo for food, clothing, shelter, weapons and medicine and the racist pigs went in and killed all of the buffalo; therefore, the Indian had no way to survive; that the Indian had the right ideology by picking up the gun, but did not know what they were fighting against, and this is why we must continue to study this fascist government; that we would know better how to overthrow it, and we have been taught by every SLUGGER CLEAVER and HUEY P. NEWTON to know your enemy and his strong points before you attack him, and everybody knows that we are a revolutionary organization and revolutionaries will die to protect their people. He made strong statements about freeing all of the political prisoners and some of them you don't even know; that there are about 150 political prisoners and anyone else known who is being held as a political should be reported to the BPP Headquarters; that we are not only interested in BPP members who are political prisoners, but anyone else. He stated no longer are we defending the BPP since we have become the vanguard of the people, not black people only, but all people. He said we have had a hard fight in the past; that we knew this in the beginning and we have a hard job confronting us, but we did not build this party by sitting down and doing nothing; that we will have to work hard and long because the party is under strict surveillance from the racist pigs, and as we have always said, we must use every means necessary, we will resolve all legal means, but everybody knows that power comes out of the barrel of a gun. He stated we will now go to San Francisco on 47th Street to see the movie "Z" again for the benefit of those who arrived late, and had not had a chance to see it; that we will return here for the last session of this retreat.

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